

THE HISTORY
OF
THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages are, in the main, a reprint of articles which appeared in the "Bible Educator," edited by Professor Plumptre. I have made some corrections and slight additions, and restored some pages (about twenty in all) which the necessary limits of space excluded from the "Bible Educator."

That the little book owes very much to the many able writers on the subject need hardly be said. I trust that in every case I have made full acknowledgment of my debt. My own labour has been chiefly devoted to a careful examination of the characteristics of each version; and here, unless the contrary is expressly stated, I have depended entirely on my own collations. In most instances these will be found to confirm, but occasionally to correct or extend, the conclusions now generally received.

One obligation demands special mention, and I make the acknowledgment with special pleasure and

gratitude. The number of references to Professor Westcott's "History" is but an inadequate measure of my indebtedness to that work. Those only who have endeavoured to work on the lines which Dr. Westcott has marked out can really understand how much he has done to promote the accurate knowledge of the English Versions of the Bible.

W. F. M.

CAMBRIDGE,
February, 1878.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIER PARAPHRASES AND TRANSLATORS.

THERE are probably few readers of the English Bible who are not aware that the sacred volume in their hands is but one of various translations of the Scriptures into our language. We have only to look at the opening pages to become acquainted with this fact. The title-page presents the Holy Bible as “translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised.” “Your Highness,” say the translators in their dedication to King James, “out of deep judgment apprehended how convenient it was, that out of the original sacred tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own, and other foreign languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue.” Whilst the existence of earlier translations is thus acknowledged on the first pages of our Bibles, the translations themselves are represented in the Book of Common Prayer; in which the Psalms, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and many other passages of Scripture scattered through the various offices, are found to differ, sometimes materially, from the Authorised Version of 1611.

This version, then, was not the result of a single effort ;

it represents the last stage of a growth. The object of the present work will be to trace the progress of this growth, and then to inquire by what means, and amid what influences, it has arrived at its present maturity.

It is not desirable, however, that the history of the English Bible should be treated as identical with the history of the Authorised Version. Such a limitation would render it necessary to pass over some most interesting attempts to make the Scriptures known to our countrymen, because these attempts, important in themselves, left no mark on the great work whose history we are tracing.

These isolated efforts, however, can receive only subordinate attention. Our main inquiries must be:—To whose labours are we indebted for our English Scriptures? In what proportion has each labourer added to the value of the treasure? The work must have our chief consideration, not the workman. In the case of some men, indeed, the life and the labour can with difficulty be separated; but, as a rule, we must leave others to trace the course of the reformer, the divine, or the martyr, contenting ourselves with following the translator and his translation.

What is an English Bible? This simple question has received different answers. If the English language is the language of the people called English, it has been spoken in this country for the last 1,400 years. We are carried back to the invasions of Britain in the fifth century; for the tribes usually known by the name of Saxons called themselves English (*Ænglisc*). According to this view, "Utan tobreca heora bendas, and aweorpan heora geocu of us," and "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us," are alike specimens of English. Certainly the former sentence would not suggest Psalm ii. 3 to the ordinary English reader; but, on the other hand, when the key is once supplied, he may easily discover that almost all

the unfamiliar words are closely connected with the language of his daily life. For our present purpose it is not of much consequence to decide whether the speech of our forefathers, between A.D. 450 and A.D. 1100, should be called English or Anglo-Saxon: if the former name reminds us of the essential unity of the language spoken in this land since Roman times, the latter has the advantage of avoiding all ambiguity. At all events, the early translations into this language are too important to be passed over, even though it may seem unlikely that they can have exercised much influence upon succeeding versions.

The earliest portion of Anglo-Saxon sacred literature now extant is the Paraphrase of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who lived in the seventh century. The venerable Bede relates of Cædmon that "he sang the creation of the world, the origin of man, and all the history of Genesis, and made many verses on the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and their entering into the Land of Promise, with many other histories from Holy Writ; the incarnation, passion, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching of the apostles; also the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the delights of heaven."¹ That which has come down to us under Cædmon's name may have received considerable alteration at the hands of later poets and reciters; but the relics agree with Bede's description. The following extract from Thorpe's prose translation will illustrate the merits of Cædmon as a paraphrast of Scripture:—

Then the chief
began the Powerful
King to tempt,

earnestly proved
what the man's
fortitude were;

¹ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Dr. Giles, page 218. (Bohn.)

with words austere
 he with his voice addressed him :—
 Go thou, with utmost haste,
 Abraham, journeying
 set thy steps,
 and with thee lead
 thine own child.
 Thou shalt Isaac to me
 sacrifice, thy son,
 thyself, as an offering,
 after thou mountest
 the steep downs
 (the ring of the high land,
 which I from hence will show thee)
 up with thine own feet ;
 there thou shalt prepare a pile,
 a bale¹-fire, for thy child,
 and thyself sacrifice
 thy son with the sword's edge,

and then with swart flame
 burn the beloved's body,
 and offer it to me as a gift.
 He delayed not the journey,
 but soon began
 to hasten for the way.
 To him was the Lord of angels'
 word terrific,
 and his Sovereign dear.
 Then the blessed
 Abraham his
 night-rest gave up,
 the Preserver's
 behest despised not,
 but him the holy man
 girded with a gray sword,
 showed that of the Guardian of
 spirits
 dread in his breast dwelt.

Important as this paraphrase is, as the earliest Anglo-Saxon work presenting Scripture in any form, it has, of course, no claim to rank among translations. The first translators of whom we have any information are Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne (who died A.D. 709), and Guthlac, a hermit of Crowland, near Peterborough ; to each of these is ascribed a version of the Psalter, now probably lost. The last work in the laborious life of Bede was a translation of the Gospel according to St. John into the language of the people. His devotion to this labour of love, and his eagerness to complete it, are touchingly described by his disciple Cuthbert, in a letter to his "fellow-reader Cuthwin," on the death of their "father and master, whom God loved."

"During these days," Cuthbert writes, "he laboured to compose two works well worthy to be remembered, besides

¹ A funeral pile.

the lessons we had from him, and singing of Psalms ; viz., he translated the Gospel of St. John as far as the words : 'But what are these among so many,' etc. [St. John vi. 9], into our own tongue for the benefit of the Church ; and some collections out of the Book of Notes of Bishop Isidorus, saying : 'I will not have my pupils read a falsehood, nor labour therein without profit after my death.' When the Tuesday before the ascension of our Lord came, he began to suffer still more in his breath, and a small swelling appeared in his feet ; but he passed all that day and dictated cheerfully, and now and then, among other things, said, 'Go on quickly, I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Maker will not soon take me away.' But to us he seemed very well to know the time of his departure ; and so he spent the night, awake, in thanksgiving ; and when the morning appeared, that is, Wednesday, he ordered us to write with all speed what he had begun ; and this done, we walked till the third hour with the relics of the saints, according to the custom of that day. There was one of us with him, who said to him, 'Most dear master, there is still one chapter wanting : do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'It is no trouble. Take your pen, and make ready and write fast.' Having said much more, he passed the day joyfully till the evening ; and the boy above mentioned said : 'Dear master, there is yet one sentence not written.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' Soon after, the boy said, 'The sentence is now written.' He replied, 'It is well, you have said the truth. It is ended. Receive my head into your hands, for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my holy place, where I was wont to pray, that I may also sitting call upon my Father.' And thus, on the pavement of his little cell, singing : 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,'

when he had named the Holy Ghost, he breathed his last, and so departed to the heavenly kingdom.¹

The next translator is a royal personage, the great Alfred (A.D. 849—901). In the preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," the king gives expression to his wish that "all the free-born youth of his people, who possess the means, may persevere in learning, so long as they have no other affairs to prosecute, until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures."² How far he himself was able to minister to the fulfilment of this noble wish, by providing versions of Scripture for the use of his people, we cannot say with certainty. According to William of Malmesbury, Alfred began a version of the Psalms, but the work was interrupted by his death. One monument of Alfred's devout zeal is too characteristic to be passed over, especially as very possibly we have in it the earliest extant portion of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon prose. At the head of his "Book of Laws" he places the Ten Commandments, not indeed rendered with verbal accuracy, but differently arranged and somewhat abridged. The following literal translation is given by Mr. Thorpe in his edition of the "Ancient Laws and Institutions of England:"—

"ALFRED'S DOOMS.

"The Lord spake these words to Moses, and thus said: I am the Lord thy God. I led thee out of the land of the Egyptians and of their bondage.

"1. Love thou not other strange gods above me.

"2. Utter thou not my name idly, for thou shalt not be guiltless towards me, if thou utter my name idly.

"3. Remember that thou hallow the rest-day. Work for yourselves six days, and on the seventh rest. For in six

¹ Giles, *Bedè's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. xx., xxi. (Bohn.)

² Pauli, *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 159. (Bohn.)

days Christ wrought the heavens and the earth, the seas, and all creatures that are in them, and rested on the seventh day: and therefore the Lord hallowed it.

"4. Honour thy father and thy mother, whom the Lord hath given thee, that thou mayest be the longer living on earth.

"5. Slay thou not.

"6. Commit thou not adultery.

"7. Steal thou not.

"8. Say thou not false witness.

"9. Covet thou not thy neighbour's goods unjustly.

"10. Make thou not to thyself golden or silver gods."

The Decalogue is followed by an abridged version of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and part of the twenty-third chapters of Exodus, faithful in the main, but with certain alterations (*e.g.*, in xxi. 2, "a Christian" for "a Hebrew") which occasionally give the document an incongruous appearance. After Exod. xxi. 13, we read, "These are the dooms which the Almighty God himself spake unto Moses, and commanded him to keep: and after the only begotten Son of the Lord, our God, that is, our Saviour Christ, came on earth, he said that he came not to break nor to forbid these commandments, but with all good to increase them: and mercy and humility he taught. Then, after his passion, before his apostles were dispersed throughout all the earth, teaching, and while they were yet together, many heathen nations they turned to God. When they were all assembled, they sent messengers to Antioch and to Syria, to teach the law of Christ. But when they understood that it speeded them not, then sent they a letter unto them. Now this is the letter which all the apostles sent to Antioch, and to Syria, and Cilicia, which now, from heathen nations, are turned to Christ." Then follows a free version of the epistle (Acts xv. 23—29), of which we may quote the concluding

part (as rendered by Mr. Thorpe). "It seemed to the Holy Ghost and to us, that we should set no burthen upon you above that which it was needful for you to bear : now that is, that ye forbear from worshipping idols, and from tasting blood or things strangled, and from fornications ; and that which ye will that other men do not unto you, do ye not that to other men."

The Anglo-Saxon versions which have come down to us comprise little more than the Psalter, the four Gospels, the Pentateuch, and some of the historical books of the Old Testament. Of the Psalter, three versions have been given to the world, edited by Spelman (1640), Stevenson (1843), and Thorpe (1835). The last-mentioned version (from which Ps. ii. 3 is quoted in page 2) is found in the National Library of Paris ; Ps. i.—li. are rendered in prose, the remainder in verse. It has been maintained that this is Aldhelm's translation, and is therefore as old as the seventh century : of this, however, there is not sufficient proof. It is more probable that all three versions belong to the ninth century. The version edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society in 1843 is taken from a MS. in the British Museum : it is written between the lines of a Latin Psalter which is believed to belong to the sixth century, and to have been sent by Gregory the Great to Augustine soon after his arrival in England¹ (A.D. 596). The Psalter edited by Spelman is of a similar kind. These translations, of course, are from the Latin. For many hundred years Hebrew was almost an unknown language in Europe, and the old Latin version, or that of Jerome (partly a revision of the old Latin, partly a new translation), was the Bible of Western Christendom. The Latin Psalter which accompanies the Anglo-Saxon in the two MSS. of which we are now speaking, is not identical with that which

¹ Baber, *New Testament by Wiclif*, p. lviii.

is contained in ordinary editions of the Latin Bible: it represents the earliest of Jerome's revisions, known as the *Roman* Psalter. Of the Gospels, also, three versions are extant, which appear to belong to the tenth century.¹ One of these, probably the earliest in date, was first published in 1571, by Archbishop Parker, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, written by John Foxe ; afterwards by Junius and Marshall (1665), by Thorpe (1824), and by Bosworth (1865). Several MSS. of this version exist in our great libraries, some furnished with rubrics for guidance in public reading. Of the translator nothing is known, nor is it certain that the whole work is from the same hand. From certain peculiarities in the text of St. John's Gospel, Dr. Marshall was led to conjecture that in this Gospel we may have Bede's version, referred to on page 5. It is not probable that any portion of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels was derived immediately from the Greek original ; but to all who study the text of the Latin New Testament this version is of great importance. The Latin text before the translator evidently agreed frequently with the oldest and best manuscripts of the Vulgate, properly so called, but not unfrequently with the translation in use before the time of Jerome. In Matt. v. 22, for example, "without a cause" is not found either in the Vulgate or in the Anglo-Saxon, though the more ancient Latin version contained the words ; on the other hand, the 28th and 29th verses of the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew are in the Anglo-Saxon separated by a verse of considerable length, which Jerome rightly removed from the Latin text.

¹ An admirable edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels is now in course of publication at the Cambridge University Press, under the editorship of the Rev. W. W. Skeat. In this edition the readings of all the MSS., including the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Glosses, are carefully given. For an excellent description of the MSS., and of the printed editions, see the Introductions to Part II. (St. Mark), and Part III. (St. Luke).

A version of a different kind is preserved in one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum, known as the "Book of Durham," the "Gospels of St. Cuthbert," or the "Lindisfarne Gospels." This manuscript contains the four Gospels in Latin, transcribed by Eadfrith, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, late in the seventh century. About two hundred and fifty years later, a priest named Aldred added an Anglo-Saxon "gloss" or word-for-word translation, writing it between the lines of the Latin text. A third version, similar to the last both in age and in character, is found in one of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. This manuscript is usually known as the "Rushworth Gloss," or (from the name of the scribe who wrote the Latin text) the "Gospels of Macregol."¹ The names of the translators of the Rushworth Gospels appear from notes which they have added to the gloss: "Færmes presbyter thas boc thus gleosed, dimittet ei Dominus omnia peccata sua si fieri potest apud Dominum." That is: "Færmes the presbyter this book thus glossed; the Lord will forgive him all his sins, if it is possible with the Lord." "... Owun the thas boc gleosed. Færmes thæm preoste æt Harawuda hæfe nu boc awritne." "(Let him who profits by me pray for) Owun, who this book glossed, Færmes the priest at Harewood, who has now written the book."

Near the close of the tenth century, Ælfric translated into Anglo-Saxon (with omissions and abridgments) the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Esther, Job, part of the history of the Kings, and the books of Judith and Maccabees. The greater portion of this version has been preserved to us, and has been twice published; by Thwaites in 1698, and recently by Grein, in his "Library of Anglo-Saxon Prose." In language and style this work is excellent:

¹ Mr. Skeat has shown that the Rushworth is, to a considerable extent, a copy of the Lindisfarne Gloss.

the translation is very varied in character, sometimes close and literal, sometimes degenerating into free paraphrase. It is interesting to note that in some portions of his work (especially in the latter half of Genesis) Ælfric found yet earlier translations existing, and turned them to account.

With the exception of a few fragments, these are the only Anglo-Saxon translations of Scripture that are now extant. We cannot doubt that much of the work accomplished in this field is lost to us. Tradition points to translations of the whole Bible as existing in these early times. Thus Purvey (writing about 1388) appeals to chronicles and books as showing that "Bede translatide the bible, and expounide myche in Saxon, that was English, either comoun langage of this lond, in his tyme"; and similar statements are found in early writers in regard to Alfred, Eadfrith, and others. It were to be wished that the documents which time has spared had received a fuller examination. We are still uncertain what relation exists between the copies of the same book of Scripture, whether they are independent of each other, or merely varieties of one translation. All these relics of antiquity are rich in philological interest; but they are still more valuable as monuments of the love of the Bible among our forefathers. It is of course impossible to determine to what extent these vernacular translations were known and read. Some were evidently intended for private use: others, if we may judge from the number of copies preserved, seem to have been widely circulated.

The translations of Scripture into the Anglo-Norman dialect (the variety of French spoken by the upper classes in England in the ages succeeding the Norman Conquest) call for no more than a passing notice here. Little, indeed, is known of these productions. It will be sufficient to say

that a considerable portion of Scripture appears to have been rendered into Anglo-Norman, and that in part these translations still exist in manuscript.

As in Anglo-Saxon, so also in early English, the first essays in the translation of Scripture were in the form of metrical paraphrases. Among the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library is one containing a poetical version of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, together with a commentary. What was the extent of the original work we cannot tell: the portion preserved contains about 20,000 lines. This paraphrase was written by Orm or Ormin, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, who himself gives to his poem the name of "Ormulum." No other copy of this work is known to exist, and it is commonly supposed (apparently with good reason) that the manuscript we possess was written by the author himself. We have no certain indication of the date of the "Ormulum:" it should probably be placed late in the twelfth century, or early in the thirteenth. A few lines (Luke ii. 42-44) will illustrate the writer's style, and will also show that we are fairly on *English* ground. It should be said that the system of orthography seems to be peculiar to the author.

And siththerfn¹ o thatt ger² thatt Crist
Wass off twelf winnterr elde,
Thegg comenn inntill Gernsalæm
Att teggre³ Passkemesse;
And heldenn thær thatt hallghe⁴ tid⁵
O thatt Jûdissskenn wise.⁶
And Jesu Crist wass thær withth hemm,
Swa summ⁷ the Goddspell kithethth.⁸
And afterr thatt te tid wass gan,
Thegg wenndenn fra the temple:

¹ Afterwards.

² In the year.

³ At their.

⁴ Holy.

⁵ Time (compare "eventide").

⁶ In the Jewish manner.

⁷ So as.

⁸ Showeth.

And ferrdenn¹ towardd Nazaræth
An dagges gang² till efenn;
And wenndenn³ thatt te Laferrd⁴ Crist
Withth hemm thatt gate⁵ come:
And he wass tha⁶ behinndenn hemm
Bilefedd⁷ att te temple.

In the same library is a large volume entitled *Sowlehele* or *Salus Animæ*, containing amongst other poems a paraphrase of the Old and New Testaments in verse: this also is ascribed to some part of the twelfth century. Of greater interest is a version of Genesis and Exodus found in a MS. belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The author is unknown, but probably lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The following extract (taken from Dr. Morris's edition) relates to Gen. xlv. 1-6:—

Tho⁸ cam iosep swilc rewthe⁹ upon,
He dede halle ut the tothere gon,¹⁰
And spac unethes,¹¹ so e gret,¹²
That alle hise wlite wurth¹³ teres wet.
"Ic am iosep, dredeth gu¹⁴ nogt,
For gure helthe or¹⁵ hider brogt;
To ger ben nu¹⁶ that derthe is cumen,
Get sulen .v. fulle ben numen,¹⁷
That men ne sulen sowen ne sheren,¹⁸
So sal drugte¹⁹ the feldes deren."²⁰

The edition of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter referred to above as edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society also contains a Northumbrian version of the Psalms, made from the Latin, probably near the close of the thirteenth century. As several MSS. of this version survive, we may fairly infer

¹ Fared, i.e., went ⁵ Way.

("thorough-fare," ⁶ Then.

"way-farer").

² A day's journey.

³ Weened,

thought.

⁴ Lord.

⁷ Remaining.

⁸ Then.

⁹ Such pity (*ruth*).

¹⁰ He made all the

others go out.

¹¹ Uneasily.

¹² Wept.

¹³ Face became.

¹⁴ You.

¹⁵ Formerly (*ere*).

¹⁶ Two years are

now.

¹⁷ Yet shall five

fully be taken.

¹⁸ Reap.

¹⁹ Drought.

²⁰ Harm.

that it was widely known. Its merit will be seen from the subjoined specimen:—

PSALM CXXI.

1. I hove mine eghen¹ in hilles to se
Whethen² sal come helpe to me.
2. Mi helpe sal be Laverd³ fra,
That maked heven, erthe als-swa.⁴
3. Noght in stiring⁵ mi fote give he,
Ne he sal slepe that yhemes⁶ the.
4. Loke, noght sal slepe, ne slepe sal wele,
Whilke that⁷ yhemes Iraele.
5. Laverd yhemes the, Laverd in-schilder⁸ be
Over the right-hand of the.
6. Bi dai noght the sunne skalde the sal,
Ne the mone bi night with al.
7. Laverd fra alle ivel yheme the,
Laverd thi saule yheme he.
8. Laverd yheme thine in-gang and thine out-gang,
Fra hethen, and in to werld lang.

In the first half of the fourteenth century appeared many metrical paraphrases of portions of Scripture, which it is impossible here to enumerate. The following version of the Lord's Prayer⁹ belongs to this period:—"Vader oure thet art ine heuenes, y-halged by thi name. cominde thi riche¹⁰. y-worthe thi wil as ine heuene: and ine erthe. bread oure echedayes: yef ous to day. and uorlet ous¹¹ oure yeldinges¹²: ase and we uorleteth oure yelderes¹³. and ne

¹ Eyes. ² Lord. to stiring (stir- ⁷ He that.
³ Whence; so he- ⁴ Also. ring, moving) ⁸ Protector.
then (hence) in ⁵ So Wycliffe: thi foot."
verse 8. "Give he not in ⁶ Protects.

⁹ *Specimens of Early English*, by Morris and Skeat: Part II.,

p. 105.

¹⁰ Kingdom (German, *Reich*).

¹¹ Let alone.

¹² Debts, debtors ("yielders").

ous led nagt: into uondinge¹. ac vri ous vram queade¹
zuo by hit."

About the same period we meet with two versions of the Psalter, the earliest versions of any book of Scripture in English prose. The former of these was executed (about 1327) by William of Shoreham, near Sevenoaks: the second, later by a few years only, by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster. Of the latter many copies are still extant. The subjoined specimens are taken from the Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of the Wycliffite versions:—

PS. XXII. (XXIII.), SHOREHAM'S VERSION.

1. Our Lord gouerneth me, and nothyng shal defailen to me; in the stede² of pasture he sett me ther.
2. He norissed me vp³ water of fyllynge; he turned my soule fram the fende.
3. He lad me vp the bistiges⁴ of rigtfulnes; for his name.
4. For gif⁵ that ich haue gon amiddes of the shadowe of deth; Y shal nought douten⁶ iuels, for thou art wyth me.
5. Thy discipline and thyn amending; comforted me.
6. Thou madest radi grace in my sight; ogayns hem⁷ that trublen me.
7. Thou makest satt myn heued wyth mercy; and my drynke makand⁸ drunken ys ful clere.
8. And thy merci shal folwen me; alle daies of mi lif.
9. And that ich wonne⁹ in the hous of our Lord; in lengthe of daies.

PS. LXXVIII. (LXXIX.), RICHARD ROLLE'S VERSION.

1. God, gens¹⁰ come in thin heritage; thei filed thi holy tempul, thei sette Jerusalem in kepyng of appuls.
2. Thei sette the dyande bodyes of thi seruauents mete to the fowles of the lyft; ¹¹ flesche of thi halowes¹² to bestis of erthe.

¹ Uondinge, *temptation*; queade, *evil*. Compare Chaucer's words *fonde* (to try), *quad* (bad).

² Place. ³ Upon. ⁴ Paths. ⁵ If. ⁶ Fear. ⁷ Them.
⁸ Making. ⁹ Dwell. ¹⁰ Nations. ¹¹ Air. ¹² Saints.

3. Thei spille hore¹ blode as watir in vmgong of² Jerusalem; and none was for to graue.³

4. Made we are reprofte to oure neighbors; skornynge and hething⁴ to alle that in our vmgong are.

5. Howe longe, Lord, shalt thou be wrothe in ende; kyndelt shal be thi luf⁵ as fire.

That these versions are derived from the Vulgate may very easily be seen, by comparing them with the Roman Catholic translation (the "Douay Bible"), which is avowedly made from the Latin. Thus in Ps. xxiii. 1, 2, 5, the Douay rendering is as follows: "The Lord ruleth me: and I shall want nothing. He hath set me in a place of pasture. He hath brought me up, on the water of refreshment. Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly is it!" The last clause in Ps. lxxix. 1 stands thus: "They have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit."

We have now reached in our review the middle of the fourteenth century. Before the close of this century the whole Bible had been rendered into English by John Wycliffe and his followers. Their labours will next claim our attention.

¹ Their. ² Round about. ³ Bury. ⁴ Contempt. ⁵ Love.

CHAPTER II.

THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS.

THE most conspicuous name in the religious history of England during the fourteenth century is that of John de Wycliffe.¹ He was born about the year 1320, near Richmond, in Yorkshire; and died at Lutterworth, on the last day of the year 1384. His life is closely connected with the University of Oxford, in connexion with which he held in succession various important offices: in 1356 he is Seneschal (or steward) of Merton College, in 1361 Master of Balliol, in 1365 Warden of Canterbury Hall, a foundation afterwards merged in that of Christ Church. In 1374 we find him at Bruges, one of the commissioners sent by the king, Edward III., to treat with the Papal Nuncio on the subject of "reservation of benefices," an encroachment by which many of the livings in England had been drawn into the hands of the Pope. In the same year he was presented by the king to the rectory of Lutterworth, which preferment he retained to the close of his life. His last years were troubled by persistent attacks from the enemies whom his uncompromising resistance to the abuses of the times had aroused against him. In 1377 he is summoned before Convocation, at St. Paul's, to answer charges of erroneous teaching; in the following year he appears before a synod at Lambeth; three years later the Chancellor of the University of Oxford condemns opinions on the eucharist which

¹ Or Wyclif, or Wiclif. The name is written in twenty or thirty different ways.

were ascribed to Wycliffe and his followers. Amidst these assaults, occasioned by his faithful teaching, and his vehement opposition to the "begging friars" (whom he pronounced to be the "cause, beginning, well, and maintaining of perturbation in Christendom, and of all evils of this world"), he pursued to the last his course of unremitting devotion to the work of teaching and preaching. The powerful patronage of John of Gaunt and others of high station and great influence saved Wycliffe from the fierce persecution which overpowered many of his adherents. Nicholas de Hereford was excommunicated and imprisoned, and seems to have regained his liberty at the sacrifice of his Lollard opinions. Ashton gave way for a time; Repingdon recanted, and became a persecutor of his former friends. John Purvey, who was Wycliffe's associate at Lutterworth, suffered imprisonment in 1390; in 1400, terrified by the fate of Sautre, who was burnt alive as a heretic, he publicly retracted his obnoxious tenets; the record of a second imprisonment in 1421 affords evidence that he rejoined the party of which he had been the leader. We must not, however, dwell on the fortunes of these early reformers: it is from their connexion with the first translation of the Bible into English that they call for notice here.

At this point several questions present themselves. Is there sufficient ground for believing that Wycliffe translated the Scriptures into English? If he did, where is his translation? Did he stand alone in this work, or was it accomplished with the help of others? Is his translation really the *first*? These questions have received various answers in former times, but there is now little room for serious difference of opinion.

We possess two early versions of the Bible, closely related to each other, and yet separated by clear marks of distinction. It is certain that these versions were made in

the closing years of the fourteenth century. As the art of printing was invented fifty years later, and not introduced into England until 1477, the English Bible was only accessible in manuscript to its earliest readers. In point of fact, however, neither of these versions (which we shall designate as the early and the later) ever appeared in print until 1850. In Dr. James's "*Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*" (1612), many passages are quoted from a MS.¹ of the later version, and the New Testament in the same version was published by Lewis (1731), by Baber (1810), and in Bagster's *English Hexapla* (1841). Of the early version the first portion printed was the Song of Solomon, given by Dr. A. Clarke in the third volume of his *Commentary* (1823): the New Testament was published by Pickering in 1848. In 1850 the Oxford University press issued a complete edition of the two versions in four volumes, under the title, "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers; edited by the Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden." This noble work, the fruit of twenty-two years of labour, is the source of almost all our knowledge on the subject of the Wycliffite versions. As many as 170 MSS. were examined by the editors, and the various readings of some sixty MSS. are given throughout. Words that are obsolete or obscure are explained in a glossary appended to the fourth volume. In a masterly preface the editors discuss the whole question of the origin and mutual relations of the two versions, and their main conclusions have met with universal acceptance.

We have designated the two versions "early" and

¹ Evidently No. 277 in the Bodleian Library, of which he was the first librarian. This MS. is denoted by the letter I in the Oxford edition.

"later," but until the appearance of the Oxford edition the correct appropriation of these names was matter of doubt. That the translation which was first executed must be associated with Wycliffe's name has not been questioned; but the publications of Lewis, Baber, and Bagster, referred to above, profess to contain "Wycliffe's Testament," though really presenting the later version. On what ground, then, is that translation which formerly passed as the earlier, now considered to be the later of the two? The evidence is of various kinds, but it will be sufficient to refer to that which is furnished by the preface to this version, commonly known as the General Prologue. This prologue is of considerable length, occupying a space equal to nearly 120 of these pages. The writer first gives an abstract of the contents of the several books, from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, and forcibly applies the lessons drawn from the Books of Chronicles to the circumstances of his own time. Then follows a brief notice of the remaining books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, with the exception of the prophetic books, to which a special prologue was devoted. After discussing the general principles of interpretation, the writer enters on a defence of translations of Scripture, and concludes with a very interesting account of his own mode of procedure. "A simple creature," he says, "hath translated the Bible out of Latin into English. First this simple creature had much travail, with divers fellows and helpers, to gather many old Bibles and other doctors and common glosses, and to make one Latin Bible somedea [partly] true; and then to study it anew, the text with the gloss and other doctors as he might get, and specially Lire [Lira] on the Old Testament, that helped full much in this work; the third time to counsel with old grammarians and old divines, of hard words and hard sentences, how they might best be understood and translated; the fourth time to

translate as clearly as he could to the sentence [sense], and to have many good fellows and cunning at the correcting of the translation." He shows that "in translating into English, many resolutions can make the sentence open." For "the master reading, I stand," we may write "while [or 'if,' &c.] the master readeth, I stand;" "saying" may be changed into "and saith" or "that saith;" "which runneth" into "and he runneth." Instead of translating literally *Dominum formidabunt adversarii ejus*, 1 Sam. ii. 10 ("the Lord his adversaries shall dread"), we may say "the adversaries of the Lord shall dread him;" *arescensibus hominibus præ timore*, Luke xxi. 26, may be expressed by "and men shall wax dry for dread." Those who find faults in this translation are intreated to alter it into the true sense of Holy Writ; but the critic is warned first to examine truly his Latin Bible, for "no doubt he shall find full many Bibles in Latin full false, if he look at many, namely [especially] new; and the common Latin Bibles have more need to be corrected, as many as I have seen in my life, than hath the English Bible late translated." His concluding words are memorable: "By this manner, with good living and great travail, men can come to true and clear translating, and true understanding of Holy Writ, seem it never so hard at the beginning. God grant to us all grace to know well and keep well Holy Writ, and suffer joyfully some pain for it at the last! Amen."

It will be seen that the writer of this prologue refers to a former translation into English which stood in need of correction, and gives clear indications of the changes which must be made in order to transform a sentence literally rendered into one that runs smoothly and presents a clear sense. On comparing the two versions of which we are speaking, we find that in the passages referred to, and in a multitude of other places, the renderings differ in the very

particulars specified above ; one version being characterised by close adherence to the Latin construction, the other showing a true appreciation of English idiom. When we add that the more literal version "is found in those MSS. which are the earlier in point of date," and that "these MSS. are comparatively rare,"¹ it will hardly be doubted that this version is the earlier of the two, or that the other translation is the work of the writer of the General Prologue. It is not necessary to pursue this question further, or to examine the grounds on which a contrary opinion was formerly held by those who were not in possession of the evidence now before us.

The next question is that of authorship. Both versions are anonymous. The peril to which a translator of Scripture was exposed rendered such concealment strictly necessary. We can hardly doubt, however, that the later version was executed by Purvey. His close association with Wycliffe, his learning, and his eminence amongst the Lollards after Wycliffe's death, first led to the conjecture that the work was from his hand ; but the most convincing proof is furnished by the General Prologue, which agrees remarkably, both in style and in sentiment, with writings which can be proved to be Purvey's. Still less hesitation can be felt in associating Wycliffe with the earlier work. On this point friends and foes are at one in their testimony. Henry Knighton, who wrote his Chronicle within twenty years of Wycliffe's death, complains that John Wycliffe had translated the Gospel into the English tongue, and made it more plain to the laity and to women than it formerly was even to the learned amongst the clergy, thus throwing the Gospel pearl before swine. From John Huss, the Bohemian reformer (writing in 1411), we learn that it was then said by the English that Wycliffe had translated the whole Bible

¹ Preface to Oxford edition, p. xxii.

into their vernacular tongue. To Wycliffe then must be assigned the post of honour in connexion with this noble undertaking. Earnestly maintaining that "Christian men ought much to travail night and day about text of Holy Writ, and namely [especially] the Gospel in their mother tongue," he could not rest until he had placed in the hands of his unlettered countrymen the Law of God and "the Gospel of Christ's life."

The translation, however, is not the work of one hand. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library, containing a large portion of the Old Testament and Apocrypha in the earlier version, breaks off suddenly after the second word of Baruch iii. 20, a note being added to the effect that here ended the translation of Nicholay de Hereford. This manuscript is copied from another, also preserved in the Bodleian Library, which ends in the same abrupt manner at the same place. "There is no doubt," say the Oxford editors, "that this MS. is the original copy of the translator."¹ Other willing labourers may have been engaged on the earlier portion of the Old Testament ; internal evidence makes it not improbable that this really was the case. The many resemblances between the New Testament and the later portion of the Old would seem to prove that Hereford's unfinished work was completed by Wycliffe himself. Hence our general conclusion must be that the Scriptures were rendered from Latin into English, about the year 1382, by Wycliffe and Hereford, aided possibly by others of the same party ; and that after Wycliffe's death, probably in 1388, there appeared a revision of the earlier version, executed by Purvey, with the help of "many good fellows."

¹ The abrupt termination of the work is supposed to have been occasioned by the citation of Hereford to appear before the synod in London in 1382, and his subsequent departure from England.

The subjoined specimens will show the character of each version :—

2 SAM. XXIII. 3—5.

EARLIER VERSION.

3. He seyde, God of Yrael to me hath spokyn, the strong of Yrael, the lordshipper of men, the rightwise lordshipper in the dreed of God.

4. As ligt of morwtide,¹ springinge the sunne eerli with out clowdis, gliterith; and as bi reynes buriouneth² the eerbe of the erthe.

5. And not so mych is myn hows anentis³ God, that euerlastynge couenaunt he schulde goo yn with me, stable in alle thingis and warnysshit;⁴ forsothe al myn heeth and al wil, ne there is eny thing of it, that ne buriowneth.²

ST. JOHN VII. 14—18.

EARLIER VERSION.

14 Forsothe now the feeste day medlinge, *or goynge bitwixe*, Jhesu wente vp in to the temple, and taugte.

15 And the Jewis wondriden, seyinge, Hou kan⁵ this *man* lettris, sithen⁶ he hath not lernyd?

16 Jhesu answeride to hem, and seide, My doctryne is not myn, but his that sente me.

¹ Morning-time.

² Germinates (French, *bourgeon*, a bud).

³ With.

LATER VERSION.

3. *Dauid* seide, God of Israel spak to me, the stronge of Israel, the iust Lord of men, *is* Lord in the drede of God.

4. As the ligt of the morew-tid,¹ whanne the sunne risith eerli, is brigth with out cloudis; and as an erbe cometh forth of the erthe bi reynes.

5. And myn hows is not so greet anentis³ God, that he schulde make with me euerlastynge couenaunt, stidfast and maad strong in alle thingis; for al myn helthe *hangith of him*, and al the wille *that is, al my desir, goith in to hym*, and no thing is therof, that makith not fruyt.

LATER VERSION.

14 But whanne the myddil feeste dai cam, Jhesus wente vp in to the temple, and taugte.

15 And the Jewis wondriden, and seiden, Hou can⁵ this *man* lettris, sithen⁶ he hath not lerned?

16 Jhesus answerde to hem, and seide, My doctryne is not myn, but his that sente me.

⁴ Strengthened.

⁵ Knoweth.

⁶ Since.

17 If ony man schal wilne¹ to do his wille, he schal knowe of the techinge, wher it be of God, wher I speke of my silf.

18 He that spekith of himself sekith his owne glorie; forsoth he that sekith the glorie of him that sente him, this is sothfast,² and vnrightfulnesse is not in him.

PSALM XC. (LXXXIX.) 9, 10. LATER VERSION.

For alle oure daies han failid; and we han failid in thin ire. Oure geris³ schulen bithenke,⁴ as an yreyn;⁵ the daies of oure geeris *ben* in the seuenti geeris. Forsothe, if fourescoor geer *ben* in mygti men; and the more tyme of hem is trauel and sorewe. For mylidenesse cam aboue; and we schulen be chastisid.

COLOSSIANS I. 13—17. LATER VERSION.

Which delyueride vs fro the power of derknessis, and translattide in to the kyngdom of the sone of his louyng, in whom we han agenbyng⁶ and remyscioun of synnes. Which is the ymage of God vnuysible, the first bigetun⁷ of ech creature. For in hym alle thingis ben maad, in heuenes and in erthe, visible and vnuysible, ether trones, ether dominaciouns, ether princehodes, ethir poweris, alle thingis ben maad of nougt bi hym, and in hym, and he is bifor alle, and alle thingis ben in hym.

The reader will not fail to recognise in these specimens the characteristic differences between the two versions. Thus, for "springinge the sunne eerli" (Hereford), Purvey writes, "whanne the sunne risith eerli;" for "now the feeste day medlinge," he writes, "whanne the myddil feeste dai cam." It is also evident that Hereford's renderings are altered by the reviser much more freely than those of Wycliffe, whose style is clearer and more flowing. The frequent occurrence of the word *forsooth* has often been remarked on as a characteristic of the early version (and the

¹ Will.

² True.

³ Years.

⁴ Meditate.

⁵ Spider.

⁶ "Again-buying," redemption.

⁷ Begotten.

first part of the later); in the first chapter of Matthew, for example, Wycliffe uses this word more than forty times, Purvey not once. In the passages cited above there occur two explanatory notes, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5 (Purvey) and John vii. 14 (Wycliffe). These "textual glosses" are not uncommon in the books translated by Wycliffe. Purvey admits them freely in the Old Testament, but very rarely (see (Matt. xiv. 1; Heb. ix. 3, &c.) in the New. Hereford seems to have intended to exclude such explanations altogether, but occasionally they are found in almost all the copies of his version (see Lev. xi. 17, 22, 29, 30). On the other hand, in the Song of Solomon he goes very far in the way of interpretation, actually apportioning the contents to various speakers. Thus in chap. i. the first verse is introduced by "*The Chirche of the comyng of Crist spekiþ seiende;*" after "mouth" we read, "*The vois of the Fader;*" and after ver. 2, "*The vois of the Chirche.*" All these notes were removed by Purvey.

A striking feature of the later version is the introduction of short comments in the margin. In the Prologue to the Old Testament, Purvey tells us that "where the Hebrew, by witness of Jerome, of Lire, and other expositors, discordeth from" the Latin, he has set in the margin "what the Hebrew hath, and how it is understood in some places." These "glosses," some critical and some explanatory, are very unequally distributed. They are most numerous in the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Job, the early chapters of Isaiah, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the former half of the Acts of the Apostles; in the Prophetical Books and in the Gospels we find but few. Though many of these annotations are absent from a large number of copies, we can hardly doubt that they are (in the main) from Purvey's hand; it is only natural that they should often be neglected by transcribers. The names of Jerome and Augustine

occur frequently in these glosses;¹ those of Chrysostom, Ambrose, Isidore, Hilary, occasionally. Purvey's chief authority, however, is the writer referred to above as "Lire." Nicholas de Lyra was the most celebrated commentator of the fourteenth century, distinguished for his knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek. A very large number of the "marginal glosses" are subscribed with his name. In the Book of Proverbs, for example, the common copies of the Vulgate contain nearly twenty verses or sentences not found in the Hebrew text; in several of these we find the note, "This vers is not in Ebreu. *Lire here.*" The first four verses of St. Luke, however, are omitted without remark in the later version, and in almost all the copies of the earlier.

The following are examples of the explanatory notes:—

Exod. xii. 40 (430 years). "Rekenynge tho geris² in whiche they dwelliden as pilgryms in the loond of Canaan, and of Egipt, and of Filisteys. *Lire here.*"

Lev. v. 1 (sinneth and heareth). "This word *and* is seet for *that is. Lire, and the glos here.*"

Lev. xi. 5 (a "cirogrille"³). "That is, a beeste ful of thornes, and more⁴ than an irchoun.⁵ In Ebru it is a cony."

Psaln ii. "*A glos.* The secounde salm, that hath no title in Ebreu, and in Jeromes translacioun, was maad of Dauith, as the postlis⁶ witnessen in iiij chapitre of Dedis."⁷

Prov. viii. 22. "Here Salamon spekiþ of wisdom vnmaad, that

¹ Other authorities often cited are "the Gloss" (or "the common Gloss"), and "the Gloss interlineary." The former is the *Glossa ordinaria*, a compilation by Walafrid Strabo (about A.D. 840), much esteemed and widely circulated in the Middle Ages. The latter was the work of Anselm of Laon (about A.D. 1100).

² Years.

³ *Charogrillus* (probably meaning either *hedgehog* or *porcupine*) is the word by which the Vulgate renders the Hebrew *shaphan*, translated "coney" in our version.

⁴ Larger.

⁵ Urchin, hedgehog.

⁶ Apostles.

⁷ The Acts of the Apostles.

is, of the secunde persone in Trinite, which is the kyndly¹ Sone of God, with oute bigynnyng and ende. . . . *Live here.*"

2 Cor. v. 21 (sin). "That is, sacrifice for synne. *Austyn.*"²

1 John i. 1 (That thing that was, &c.). "Thus the lettre schulde be ioyned; we tellen to gou that thing, &c.; that is, Goddis kindly¹ sone, that was born without bigynnyng of the fadir. *Live here.*"

In contents and arrangement the Wycliffite versions differ from our ordinary Bibles. The books which we know as the 1st and 2nd Books of Esdras (otherwise called the 3rd and 4th, Ezra and Nehemiah being 1 and 2 Esdras) were rejected by Purvey; the former is included in the early version. The apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther are in each case placed with the canonical book; the Prayer of Manasses is added to 2 Chronicles; Tobit and Judith stand before Esther, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus before Isaiah, Baruch (including the Epistle of Jeremiah) before Ezekiel, 1 and 2 Maccabees after the Minor Prophets. In the New Testament, St. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts of the Apostles. The Oxford edition of the Wycliffite versions contains the spurious Epistle to the Laodiceans, as being in several copies of the later version; this Epistle, however, was rejected both by Wycliffe and by Purvey. Many of the books of Scripture have short prefaces, also rendered from the Latin. In the Old Testament Purvey is contented with the General Prologue and a brief introduction to the Prophets. In some copies of his New Testament several books have additional "prologues," evidently written by himself.

The fundamental defect of the Wycliffite versions is that they are derived from the Latin, not from the original Hebrew and Greek. The translators were not able even to consult the original texts. What they profess to do they do well, representing the Latin with great care and with general

¹ By nature, own ("God's own Son").

² Augustine.

accuracy. Where the text before them was faulty, the error was faithfully reflected in their work. We have heard Purvey's complaint of the inaccuracy of the common Latin Bibles; and though he sought to remedy the evil by collation of many copies, an examination of his renderings shows that he was not fortunate in meeting with manuscripts of any great excellence. The weakest part of the Vulgate, and of all translations made from it, is the Book of Psalms. Jerome's translation of this book from the Hebrew never attained currency; the old and familiar version from the Greek, revised, but not materially changed, maintained its ground. A comparison of the authorised version of Ps. xc. 9, 10, with the quotation given above (page 25) will show how far the Latin (faithfully represented in almost every particular in Purvey's translation) may depart from the sense of the original. From verse 9 it seems hard to extract any clear meaning; and yet the English reader was in no worse plight than the great Augustine himself, who understood the Psalmist's words in no other sense. But this dependence on the Vulgate was not without some compensating advantages. The English Bible, at this its first appearance, was seen to be identical with the "common Bible" received by the whole Western Church: a version taken from the language of the Jews or of the Greeks might in those days have been suspected of some grievous taint. The translator moved freely amongst the well-known words and phrases, and his familiarity with the Latin text left him at liberty to expend his strength on the English: hence the force and the homeliness so often apparent in the style. In the New Testament, at all events, the Vulgate is often nearer to the sense of the sacred writers than are many of the later manuscripts of the Greek Testament. In Col. i. 14, for example (see page 25), Purvey's text agrees with that of the best Greek manuscripts, the words "through his

blood" having accidentally come in from Eph. i. 7: in the first chapter of the Acts, containing only twenty-six verses, there are as many as ten examples of a similar kind, though of smaller importance. Whilst, then, it is very plain that the *version of a version* is necessarily placed at great disadvantage, that the Latin language is incapable of representing the beauty and fulness of the Greek, and that the Vulgate is in some places disfigured by serious errors, we may thankfully acknowledge that the derivation of the first English Bible from the Latin was productive of good. Whether Wycliffe and his coadjutors made any use of the earlier translations of parts of Scripture it is hard to say; we have no direct evidence bearing on the point, but the question has not been fully examined. It is of greater importance to determine the degree of influence exerted by these versions on the work of later translators. It is very easy to find coincidences of expression between Purvey's translation and our Authorised Version. When the structure of the Greek is simple (see John vii. 14—18, quoted above, but especially John xiv.), many consecutive verses may read as if taken from our own familiar Bible: in most instances, however, the agreement may be traced to the influence of the Latin version, faithfully followed in the one case, diligently consulted in the other. It would be premature to say more at this point: we shall return to the subject in connexion with Tyndale's translation. Whatever may be thought of the amount of influence directly exerted by the Wycliffite versions, no one can doubt that their indirect effect has been great, both on the general style of Scripture translations and on the development of the English language.

For this work was not hidden in the cloister or buried in the libraries of the learned. "The new version was eagerly sought after, and read. Copies passed into the hands of all

classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and the princes of the blood royal did not disdain to possess them. The multiplication of copies must have been rapid. Nearly 150 manuscripts, containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished, have been examined. . . . Others are known to have existed within the last century; and more, there can be no doubt, have escaped inquiry; how many have perished it is impossible to calculate. But when it is remembered that from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress the version; that strict inquisition was made for the writings and translations of Wycliffe, Hereford, Ashton, and Purvey; that they were burnt and destroyed as most noxious and pernicious productions of heretical depravity; and that all who were known to possess them were exposed to severe persecution; and then if there be taken into account the number of manuscripts which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed through accident or negligence; it is not too much to suppose that we have now but a small portion of those which were originally written."¹

One question still remains. Have we good grounds for believing that Wycliffe's version is the *earliest* of English Bibles? On this subject a few words must suffice. We have testimony to the existence of versions of a still earlier date. In a tract,² which cannot have been written much later than the year 1400, preserved in the first edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, we read of a "Bible in

¹ Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of *The Wycliffite Versions*, p. xxxii.

² *A compendious old Treatise, shewing how we ought to have the Scriptures in English.* See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iv., pp. 671—676 (ed. Cattley: 1837).

English of Northern speech," which "seemed to be two hundred years old." Sir Thomas More (1532) declares that the whole Bible was translated into the English tongue by virtuous and well-learned men long before Wycliffe's days. In the preface to the Authorised Version (1611) our translators speak of John Trevisa (who died about 1397) as having translated the Scriptures (or the Gospels) into English in the time of Richard II.; Fuller, writing in 1655, ascribes to the same "godly and learned servant of God" a translation of the whole Bible. On the other hand, Wycliffe and his followers evidently knew of no version prior to their own. Desirous in every way to strengthen their position, they could not possibly have neglected the most convincing of all answers to those who accused them of introducing the pernicious novelty of an English translation of the Scriptures. The Bible two hundred years old can only have been Anglo-Saxon. Where mistake was so easy (copies of Purvey's version having been ascribed to a much earlier date), we cannot rely very confidently on unsupported testimony of such a kind as More's. There are indeed translations of portions of Scripture of a character very similar to Wycliffe's (as of the first three Gospels,¹ of St. Paul's Epistles,² &c.), but these belong to Wycliffe's age, and were probably executed by some of his party. These efforts resemble those of an earlier age: interesting and valuable monuments of learning and private zeal, they cannot disturb the place of the great work which makes an epoch as well in the literary as in the religious history of our country.

¹ With the Latin text and a commentary, in the University Library and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

² Also in the Library of Corpus Christi College.

CHAPTER III.

A CENTURY OF PREPARATION.

THE interval between the death of Wycliffe and the birth of Tyndale is nearly a hundred years. Amongst the events of this century are the revival of learning in Europe, the invention of printing, the discovery of a new world. It is impossible to pass suddenly from one period to the other. If we would understand and appreciate the work of Tyndale, his coadjutors, and his successors, we must give attention to the age of preparation and to the influences amidst which they lived and laboured. The field that opens before us is as extensive as it is inviting. We must confine ourselves as far as possible to a notice of those persons, books, or events which clearly stand connected with the history of the English Bible.

The fruit of Wycliffe's labours did not immediately appear. The active persecutors of the Lollard party succeeded in obtaining from Henry IV. a statute which proscribed all books teaching the new doctrines, and threatened heretics with the stake. A few years later (1408) Wycliffe's translations were expressly condemned as unauthorised and incorrect. As a party the Lollards could not make head against their foes, but the leaven of their teaching silently spread through all classes of society; and when an age of greater freedom dawned, men saw that the toil and suffering of the persecuted had not been endured in vain. But it was in Bohemia that the work of the English reformer exerted the most immediate effect. John Huss avowed his ardent

sympathy with Wycliffe, and boldly preached many of his doctrines. The Council of Constance (A.D. 1414), assembled for the reformation of the Church and the removal of abuses, condemned all Lollard writings, decreed that Wycliffe's bones should be disinterred and burnt, and sentenced Huss to the stake. The death of Huss drove Bohemia into revolt, and kindled a furious war. The minds of men were stirred with unwonted excitement: if outward inquiry was checked by force, the spirit of eager questioning remained.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the language of Greece was almost an unknown tongue in Western Europe. A few scholars, such as Petrarch, had sought to inspire a taste for Grecian literature, but with little success. At this time, however, various causes concurred to bring about increased intercourse between the Christians of the East and the West. The sudden collapse of the Eastern Empire in 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks under Mohammed II., is the epoch from which the revival of Greek learning in Europe must be dated. Exiled from their country, the scholars of Greece, carrying with them the treasures of their literature, sought a home in the West, especially in Italy, where Pope Nicolas V. in Rome and Cosmo del' Medici in Florence rivalled each other in the patronage of learning. From this time the study of Greek spread rapidly. In 1458 a public teacher of the language was appointed in the University of Paris.

Meanwhile a revolution yet more wonderful was preparing in Germany by the invention of printing. The history of this invention is involved in obscurity, but it seems certain that before 1440 the use of movable types had been discovered by Gutenberg of Mayence (or Mentz). About 1455 the first printed work (of any magnitude) was issued from the press of Gutenberg and Fust in the same city. This work was a magnificent edition of the Latin

Bible, commonly known as the Mazarin Bible,¹ because a copy was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. Within twenty years of this date the invention had found a home in more than a hundred European cities, and by the end of the century more than a thousand presses were at work. The first book which is explicitly stated to have been printed in England is dated 1477. In the same year was first printed (probably at Bologna) a portion of the Hebrew Bible, the Psalter. In 1488 the entire Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino, near Cremona. This edition was followed within a brief period by many others, some of which leave little to be desired as editions of the ordinary text. The Greek Testament was not printed until 1514. The earliest Greek Grammar (by Constantine Lascaris) appeared in 1476; the earliest Lexicon in 1480. The first Hebrew Grammar that appeared in print (1503) was written by Pellican, at the age of twenty-five; three years later a Grammar and Lexicon by the celebrated Reuchlin were given to the world. It has been calculated that more than ten thousand editions of books or pamphlets were published between 1470 and 1500; of the Latin Bible alone as many as ninety-one editions had been issued before the close of the fifteenth century.

England was slow in welcoming the new learning. Greek was first taught in the University of Oxford in 1491, by William Grocyn, who had studied in Italy. Besides Grocyn, Oxford possessed a noble band of scholars, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, Thomas More (afterwards Lord Chancellor), also John Colet and William Lily, the founder and the first head-master of St. Paul's School;

¹ At the sale of the "Perkins Library" at Hanworth Park (June 6th, 1873), a copy of the Mazarin Bible, on vellum, was sold for £3,400; another, on paper, for £2,690. Copies may be seen in the libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth Palace, &c.

a few years later Cambridge could boast of Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and Roger Ascham. In 1497 Erasmus of Rotterdam, then thirty years of age, came to Oxford, attracted by the fame of its teachers of Greek. Twelve years later, after studying in various cities of Italy, he returned to England, and accepted a professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. Here he remained till 1514, teaching theology and Greek, preparing an edition of the works of Jerome, and engaged in diligent study of the Greek Testament. In 1516, at the instance of the printer Froben of Basle, he undertook an edition of the Greek Testament, which was published the same year, with a dedication to Pope Leo X. Unfortunately this work, the first edition of the Greek Testament given to the world, was executed with great haste, and for the most part was derived from inferior manuscripts of the text. From the second edition (published in 1519), in which many errors were corrected, Luther made his translation of the New Testament; the third (1522) was used by Tyndale. The Greek Testaments in ordinary use at this day agree in the main with that of Erasmus. In 1518 appeared the first portion of Erasmus's Latin paraphrases of the Books of the New Testament, which Milman does not hesitate to call the most important book even of that day, and which thirty years later "was almost legally adopted by the Church of England,"¹ Edward VI. enjoining that the paraphrases upon the Gospels in English should be set up in some convenient place in all churches.

In 1500 a university was founded at Alcalá, near Madrid, by Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. Here was prepared and published, through the exertions and at the expense of the Cardinal, the famous Complu-

¹ Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vi. p. 624.

tensian Polyglott, in six folio volumes. This Polyglott contains the original texts of Scripture, together with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch (with a Latin translation), Greek and Hebrew Grammars, and a Hebrew vocabulary. It derives its name from Complutum, the ancient name of Alcalá. The volume containing the Greek Testament was printed in 1514, but the publication of the work was not authorised until 1520. An edition of the Septuagint (and Greek Testament), known as the Aldine edition, was printed at Venice in 1518.

The study of the original languages of Scripture had commenced in earnest, but still it was through Latin translations that the sacred books were mainly accessible even to men of education and learning. The wide circulation of the Vulgate in this age has been already noticed. Next in importance stand the Latin versions executed during the first half of the sixteenth century. Sanctes Pagninus, a Dominican, published in 1528 a Latin translation of the whole Bible; much used and highly prized on account of the literalness with which the Hebrew text is rendered; this is the first translation of the Old Testament in which the division into verses is given. In 1535 appeared a valuable translation of the Old Testament by Sebastian Münster, a Hebraist of considerable reputation. Leo Juda, the friend and coadjutor of the Swiss Reformer Zwingli, was at the time of his death engaged on a Latin version of the Old Testament. The work was taken up by the other Biblical scholars whom Zwingli had drawn to Zurich, Pellican (author of the earliest Hebrew Grammar, and of Commentaries both on the Old and on the New Testament), Bibliander, and others. It was printed by Froschover at Zurich in 1543. This translation is less literal than those of Pagninus and

Münster: the authors are more intent on the preservation of the sense, than on verbal accuracy in the rendering. For the New Testament, Erasmus's elegant Latin version, which accompanied his Greek text, was very extensively used. The whole Bible was rendered into Latin with care and elegance by Castalio in 1551; the New Testament by Beza in 1557.

But the study of the Sacred Word was no longer to be confined to men of learning. On every hand we observe tokens of an importunate desire on the part of the common people to possess the Scriptures in the languages of ordinary life. The history of vernacular translations of the Bible in other countries of Europe resembles that which we have traced in our own. As a rule, poetical paraphrases of the historical books (such as the *Heliand*, a Gospel history of the ninth century in the old Saxon language) or of the Psalms, interlinear glosses (see page 10), translations of those portions of Scripture which were most frequently read in the services of the Church, prepared the way for more systematic and complete undertakings. As early as the fourth century, however, the Goths on the lower Danube received the Bible in their own language from the hands of Ulfilas, their bishop, who translated it from the Greek. In the ninth century Cyril and Methodius, sent by the Byzantine emperor into Moravia as missionaries, translated the Scriptures into the Slavonic language. Three hundred years later, the Gospels and several other books of Scripture were rendered into one of the dialects spoken in the south of France, through the zeal of Peter Waldo, of Lyons. The first *French Bible* (1294) was a version of Comestor's *Scholastic History*, a free paraphrase of the historical books made about 1170. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, we find the Scriptures translated (from the Latin) into the

languages of Poland, Bohemia, and Germany, as well as England.

In our own country, "the first attempt at giving forth any portion of the Scriptures in print is to be found in the *Exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms*, by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, which was published in the year 1505."¹ The Continental presses, on the other hand, almost in the earliest years of their existence, teem with editions of the Bible in different languages. Before 1474 four editions of the German Bible had been given to the world: ten more were issued during the forty years which followed. The Italian Bible of Malermi (or Malherbi) was printed at Venice in 1471: before the end of the century nine editions had been issued. A French New Testament appeared in 1478: the whole Bible followed in 1487. In 1522 there were in circulation printed versions of Scripture, in whole or in part, in six languages (besides German, Italian, and French), viz., Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Slavonic, Russian, and the dialect of Spanish spoken in Valencia.

The appearance of Luther's version constitutes an epoch in the history of this subject. The influence which this version exerted directly was very considerable, forming as it did the basis on which many other translations were executed; but the impulse which it gave to the study of the original texts of Scripture (the early versions having been derived from the Vulgate) was perhaps of even greater importance. The Swedish New Testament and Bible (1526, 1541) were avowedly taken from Luther's: translations into the languages of Holland, Denmark, and Iceland were made on a similar principle. Roman Catholic

¹ *Historical Account*, prefixed to Bagster's *English Hexapla*, p. 37. The Penitential Psalms are Psalms vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.

versions appeared in rapid succession in Germany, most of them betraying very distinctly the influence of the translation they were intended to supplant.

In France a complete Bible was published in 1530,¹ translated (mainly from the Vulgate) by Le Fèvre (or Faber), the first of the French reformers; on this all subsequent versions have been more or less dependent. Five years later appeared another translation, by Olivetan, a cousin of John Calvin. After receiving many corrections at various times from Calvin and others, this translation was subjected to thorough revision by the College of Pastors and Professors at Geneva in 1588: the Bibles which now stand highest in the esteem of French Protestants are further revisions of the same work, by Martin (1707) and Osterwald (1744). The Italian version of Brucioli was published at Venice in 1532, and was shortly followed by other translations, executed by Roman Catholics. The Spanish New Testament, translated from the Greek by Enzinas, was published at Antwerp in 1543; the entire Bible, by De Reyna, appeared in 1569. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, therefore, the Scriptures were circulated throughout almost the whole of Europe, in the language of each nation.

These facts, most interesting in themselves, would require remark in any history of the English Bible, in consequence of the influence, general and special, which the labours of Continental translators exercised on our own country. One version, however, cannot be dismissed with a passing notice. In 1521 Luther, returning from the Diet of Worms, by which he had been denounced as a heretic, was arrested by friendly hands, and carried off to the castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, in Saxe-Weimar. Here

¹ Having previously appeared in six parts (1523—1528). See the *Caxton Celebration Catalogue*, p. 114.

he remained in retirement for ten months. The fruit of this enforced withdrawal from active life was the German New Testament, which was published at Wittenberg, in September, 1522, in a thin folio volume. The title-page contains the name neither of translator nor of printer. The Pentateuch and the poetical books of the Old Testament speedily followed, the Prophets at longer intervals: it was not until 1534 that the whole Bible (including the Apocrypha) was issued from the press. In this its earliest form the work seems to have been executed by Luther himself, with but slight and occasional assistance from friends. His stock of books to aid in so arduous an undertaking was scanty. His Hebrew Bible (of the edition printed at Brescia, in 1494) is still preserved in the Royal Library, Berlin: his Greek Testament was Erasmus's second edition. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Latin translations of Pagninus, and (afterwards) of Münster, a few Latin Fathers, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and the Commentaries of Lyra,¹ were all the aids at his command. Many editions of the separate parts of the German Bible were called for before the completion of the work: the numerous alterations introduced show Luther's zeal for the improvement of the translation. With the help of his friends, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Creuziger, and others, he travelled over the whole ground afresh, and a new edition, thoroughly revised, was completed in 1541. Before 1580 thirty-eight editions had been issued from the press.

The translations of Luther's Bible into other European languages have been already noticed. Two revisions or modifications, however, require attention, as having exerted an independent influence on one or more of our English versions. These are the Bibles of Zurich and Worms. Soon after Luther's Testament appeared, a translation (if so it can

¹ See page 27.

be called) into the German-Swiss dialect was published at Zurich. Impatient at the slowness with which Luther's work progressed, Zwingli and his associates resolved that they would themselves supply the remaining portions. The translation of the Prophets, issued in 1524, is the work of "the preachers of Zurich;" that of the Apocrypha is from the hand of Leo Juda. The whole Bible appeared in 1530. The second edition, dated 1531, contains an excellent introduction, probably from the pen of Zwingli himself. The Worms Bible (1529) is a work of the same kind, known in Germany as a "combined Bible."

Having thus hastily noticed the work of other labourers in the same field, we are now at liberty to follow, without interruption, the course of our English translators. Of these the first, both in time and in importance, is William Tyndale.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.—I.

WILLIAM TYNDALE, "the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the University of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted. Insomuch that he, lying then at Magdalen Hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such that all they which knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition and of life unspotted. Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire."

Such is the brief account which John Foxe gives¹ of a period comprising more than two-thirds of Tyndale's life. Unhappily, we can add very little to fill up the outline here given. Even the time and place of Tyndale's birth are not

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 114.

known with certainty. The most probable date appears to be 1484, the year following that in which Luther was born; the place was either North Nibley or (more probably) Slymbridge,¹ near Berkeley, in Gloucestershire. As little known are the details of his university career. We can hardly suppose that he would proceed to Oxford earlier than 1503. At that time, and for two years later, Colet was still delivering lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul; and we cannot doubt that Tyndale was one of the many eager listeners to these fresh and vivid expositions. The reasons which induced Tyndale to leave Oxford for Cambridge we can only conjecture. On the one hand, he may very probably have been attracted by the teaching of Erasmus; on the other, he may have seen the necessity of avoiding a threatened storm. Colet himself was suspected of heresy; and his disciple, who occupied himself in reading "to students and fellows some parcel of divinity," would naturally be looked upon with distrust. The account of Tyndale's residence in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury (a village in South Gloucestershire), we take from the *first* edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, since the narrative, as there given,² bears marks of being immediately derived from one of Tyndale's friends.

"Master Tyndale being in service with one Master Welch, a knight who married a daughter of Sir Robert Pointz, a knight dwelling in Gloucestershire, the said Tyndale being schoolmaster to the said Master Welch's children, and being in good favour with his master, sat most commonly at his own table, which kept a good ordinary, having resort

¹ See the admirable biography of Tyndale by the late Rev. R. Demaus, pp. 5, 6.

² Reprinted by Arber in the Preface to his Facsimile of the *Grenville Fragment*, pp. 8—10. Mr. Demaus (p. 44) is convinced that Foxe's informant was Richard Webb, afterwards a servant of Latimer.

to him many times divers great beneficed men, as abbots, deans, archdeacons, and other divers doctors and learned men. Amongst whom commonly was talk of learning, as well of Luther and Erasmus Roterodamus as of opinions in the Scripture. The said Master Tyndale, being learned, and which had been a student of divinity in Cambridge, and had therein taken degree of school, did many times therein show his mind and learning, wherein as those men and Tyndale did vary in opinions and judgments, then Master Tyndale would show them on the book the places, by open and manifest Scripture. The which continued for a certain season divers and sundry times, until in the continuance thereof these great beneficed doctors waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against Master Tyndale. . . . Then did he translate into English a book called, as I remember, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.¹ The which being translated he delivered to his master and lady. And after they had read that book, those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor when they came had the cheer nor countenance as they were wont to have, the which they did well perceive, and that it was by the means and incensing of Master Tyndale, and at the last came no more there. After that, when there was a sitting of the bishop's commissary or chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear, Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had knowledge by their threatening, or that he did suspect that they would lay to his charge, it is not now perfectly in my mind; but thus he told me, that he doubted their examinations, so that he in his going thitherwards prayed in his mind heartily to God to strengthen him to stand fast in the truth of His word; so he being there before them, they laid sore to his charge, saying he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a

¹ Written by Erasmus in 1501.

heretic in his divinity, and so continueth. But they said unto him, 'You bear yourself boldly of the gentlemen here in this country, but you shall be otherwise talked with.' Then Master Tyndale answered them: 'I am content that you bring me where you will into any country within England, giving me ten pounds¹ a year to live with, so you bind me to nothing but to teach children and preach.' Then had they nothing more to say to him, and thus he departed and went home to his master again.

"There dwelt not far off an old doctor that had been arch-chancellor to a bishop, the which was of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, who also favoured him well, to whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scriptures, for he durst boldly open to him his mind. That ancient doctor said, 'Do you not know that the Pope is the very antichrist which the Scripture speaketh of? but beware what ye say, for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion it will cost you your life;' and said, 'I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.' And soon after Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him drove him to that issue that the learned man said, 'We were better be without God's law than the Pope's.' Master Tyndale hearing that, answered him, 'I defy the Pope and all his laws;' and said, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.'"

It is very interesting to mark the dawn of Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures into the language of the people. The words last quoted may have been suggested by a striking passage in the "Exhortation" prefixed

¹ Equal to £120 or £130 at the present day.

by Erasmus to his edition of the Greek Testament.¹ "I would," says the great scholar of the Reformation age, "that all private women should read the Gospel and Paul's Epistles. And I wish that they were translated into all languages, that they may be read and known, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but also by the Turks and Saracens. Let it be that many would smile, yet some would receive it. I would that the husbandman at the plough should sing something from hence, that the weaver at his loom should sing something from hence, that the traveller might beguile the weariness of his journey by narrations of this kind." But even before he listened to Erasmus this subject had been in Tyndale's thoughts. It is remarkable that almost the only reminiscence of his childhood is connected with the labour of his life. In his work on the *Obedience of a Christian Man*,² in the course of an argument that with special propriety may the Bible be translated into English, because the Greek and Hebrew tongues agree so much more with English than with Latin, he says, "Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle how that king Adelstone (Athelstane) caused the Holy Scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto."

It soon became evident to Tyndale that his work could not be accomplished at Sodbury. "When I was so troubled," he says,³ "in the country where I was, that I could no longer there dwell, I this wise thought in myself:

¹ *Historical Account* (in the *English Hexapla*), pp. 43, 44.

² Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises* (Parker Society), p. 149. See also Demaus, p. 11.

³ In the Preface to the Book of Genesis (1531). See Arber, *Facsimile*, pp. 16, 17.

This I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned. . . . As I this thought, the Bishop of London¹ came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus. . . praiseth exceedingly for his great learning. Then thought I, if I might come to this man's service I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and through the acquaintance of my master came to Sir Harry Gilford, the king's grace's controller, and brought him an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me, which he also did, as he showed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did. . . . Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find; and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost one year, . . . and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England."

It was probably in 1523 that Tyndale came to London. During the year of anxious waiting he found a home in the house of Humphry Monmouth, a cloth-merchant of London, who proved himself now and in after years Tyndale's zealous and loving friend. When at last compelled to renounce the hope of translating the New Testament in England, Tyndale did not hesitate to give up his country in favour of his work; but in May, 1524, he left England—never to return.

Of Tyndale's movements during the first year of his Continental life we have very scanty information. It appears certain that he arrived in Hamburg in May, 1524; that he was in the same city in the early spring of the following year; and that a few months later he was superintending the printing of his New Testament at Cologne. It is very

¹ Tunstal, who succeeded to the see of London in 1522.

possible that Tyndale remained in Hamburg for a year, engaged in the preparation of his translation: the fact that Hamburg did not then possess a printing-press¹ can hardly be regarded as conclusive against this view. On the other hand, we have contemporary evidence that Tyndale visited Luther about this time. Sir Thomas More asserts that "Tyndale, as soon as he got him hence, got him to Luther straight;" that at the time of his translation of the New Testament he was with Luther at Wittenberg; and that the confederacy between him and Luther was a thing well known. Tyndale, in reply, simply denies the last charge, that he was confederate with Luther. It is needless to quote other statements to the same effect. Clear and definite as they appear to be, they may perhaps be explained away, as suggested by the prevailing tendency to associate all work similar to Luther's with this Reformer himself. On the whole, however, it is safer to accept the evidence of contemporaries, and to assume that either in 1524 or in 1525 Tyndale spent some time at Wittenberg. Another question which has been much discussed is of considerable interest. Was any portion of the New Testament published in the course of this year? There is some reason to believe that Tyndale gave to the world his translation of the first two Gospels before the middle of 1525; but the evidence adduced is somewhat uncertain, and the verdict must be "not proven."

We reach firm ground in the autumn of 1525. Our information is derived from an enemy, who triumphantly records his success in embarrassing and partially frustrating Tyndale's work. In 1525, John Dobenek, better known as Cochläus, was living in exile at Cologne, engaged in literary labours. Becoming intimate with the printers of Cologne, he heard them boast at times, in their cups, that

¹ Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 92.

England would soon become Lutheran. He heard, moreover, that in Cologne were lurking two Englishmen, learned and eloquent men, well skilled in languages; but all his efforts to gain a sight of these strangers were without avail. At last, plying one of the printers with wine, Cochläus drew from him the secret of the Lutheran design on England. The two Englishmen were apostates¹ who had learnt the German language at Wittenberg, and had rendered Luther's Testament into English. This English Testament they had brought to Cologne, that it might be multiplied by the printers into many thousands, and, concealed among other merchandise, might find a way into England. So great was their confidence, that they had sought to have 6,000 copies printed; but through the timidity of the printers only 3,000 were issued from the press. These copies, in quarto, had already been printed as far as the letter K (that is, as far as the tenth sheet, probably a little beyond the end of St. Matthew's Gospel). The expense was met by English merchants, who had also engaged to convey the work secretly into England, and to diffuse it widely in that country. On receiving this information, Cochläus lost no time in revealing the plot to Hermann Rinck, a nobleman of Cologne, well known to Henry VIII. and to the Emperor Charles V. Having convinced himself of the correctness of the account received, Rinck went to the senate, and obtained an interdict of the work. On this the two Englishmen, carrying off the printed sheets, fled hastily from Cologne, and went up the Rhine to Worms. Their enemies could do no more than send letters to Henry, Wolsey, and Fisher, warning them of the danger at hand.²

¹ The second "apostate" was William Roye, who for some time acted as Tyndale's amanuensis.

² The letters of Cochläus in the original Latin, with a translation by Mr. Anderson, are given by Arber, *Facsimile*, pp. 18—24.

Worms was a city in every way suitable for Tyndale's purpose. Cologne was devoted to the Romish faith; Worms was all Lutheran: both cities enjoyed considerable intercourse with England. In comparative quiet Tyndale now pursued and completed his work, carrying it farther than he had at first designed. The edition commenced by Quentel, the Cologne printer, was in quarto: at Worms Tyndale not only completed this edition, but also brought out an edition in octavo.¹ Of each of these editions, which will be described in detail hereafter, 3,000 copies were printed. No copy that we possess contains the title-page, but we know on Tyndale's own authority² that the work was issued without the translator's name.

The Testaments reached England probably in the spring of 1526. Cochläus was not the only one who gave notice of their coming. Lee, the king's almoner (afterwards Archbishop of York), wrote to Henry in December, 1525, that, according to certain information received by him while passing through France, "an Englishman, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within few days intendeth to arrive with the same imprinted in England." There was no lack of willingness on the part of the authorities to take this warning, but we have no record of any public action until the autumn of 1526. We hear then of a meeting of bishops to deliberate on the measures to be adopted. Our account is taken from a poem by Roye, Tyndale's former companion, which contains "A brefe

¹ See Canon Westcott's *History of the English Bible* (ed. 2), pp. 32, 33; Arber, pp. 26, 27, 65, 66. It may now be considered certain that the Worms printer was P. Schoeffer, son of the great printer of that name, who was in partnership with Fust.

² See his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, in his *Works*, vol. i., p. 37 (Parker Society).

Dialogue betwene two prestes servauntes, named Watkyn and Jeffraye¹.—

Jef. But nowe of Standisshe² accusacion
Brefly to make declaracion,
Thus to the Cardinall he spake:
‘Pleaseth youre honourable Grace,
Here is chaunsed a pitious cace,
And to the Church a grett lacke.
The Gospell in oure Englisthe tonge,
Of³ laye men to be red and songe,
Is nowe hiddere come to remayne.
Which many heretykes shall make,
Except youre Grace some waye take
By youre autorite hym to restrayne.’

* * * * *

Wat. But what sayde the Cardinall here at?

Jef. He spake the wordes of Pilat,
Sayinge, ‘I fynde no fault therin.’
Howe be it, the bisshops assembled,
Amonge theym he examened,
What was best to determyn?
Then answered bisshop Cayphas,⁴
That a grett parte better it was
The Gospell to be condemned;
Lest their vices manyfolde
Shulde be knowne of yonge and olde,
Their estate to be contempned.
The Cardinall then incontinent⁵
Agaynst the Gospell gave judgement,
Sayinge to brenne he deserved.
Wherto all the bisshoppis cryed,

¹ A poem which “represents at least the popular opinion as to the parts played by the several actors.” (Westcott, p. 36.)

² Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph.

³ By.

⁴ Tunstall, Bishop of London.

⁵ Immediately.

Answerynge, ‘It cannot be denyed
He is worthy so to be served.’

* * * * *

Jef. They sett nott by the Gospell a flye:
Diddest thou nott heare whatt villany
They did vnto the Gospell?

Wat. Why, did they agaynst hym conspyre?

Jef. By my trothe they sett hym a fyre
Openly in London cite.

Wat. Who caused it so to be done?

Jef. In sothe the Bisshoppe of London,
With the Cardinallis autorite:

Which at Paulis crosse earnestly

Denounced it to be heresy

That the Gospell shuld come to lyght;

Callynge them heretikes execrable

Whiche caused the Gospell venerable

To come vnto laye mens syght.

He declared there in his furiosnes,
That he fownde erroures more and les

Above thre thousande in the translacion.

Howe be it, when all cam to pas,

I dare saye vnable he was

Of one erreure to make probacion.”¹

The utmost efforts were used to prevent the introduction of the forbidden books into England, and to discover and destroy the copies which were already in circulation. Many copies were bought up for large sums of money, which afforded means for reprints and new editions: accordingly as many as three editions were issued by Antwerp printers in 1526 and the two following years. The detailed narratives of search and persecution are full of interest, but they lie beyond the limits of our space.²

¹ Nearly 300 lines of this satire are given by Arber, pp. 29—32.

² One narrative especially we exclude with regret, as too lengthy for quotation. This is the “Story of Thomas Garret, and things done in

In the midst of this turmoil Tyndale quietly pursued his labours. At first he was not recognised in England as the author of the obnoxious translation, which bore no name on the title-page. The secret, however, could not long be kept. Wolsey, connecting Tyndale with the satire published (by Royle) against himself,¹ used vigorous efforts to get him into his power. Tyndale now found it necessary to leave Worms. In 1527, probably, he removed to Marburg in Hesse Cassel, where he spent the greater part of the four years following, leaving Marburg for Antwerp early in 1531. At Marburg his principal doctrinal and controversial works were printed, at the press of Hans Luft; as his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528), his *Treatise on the Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), the *Practice of Prelates* (1530). The work of translation, however, was not neglected. After the New Testament, Tyndale devoted himself to the Old, commencing with the Pentateuch. Foxe's statement is as follows: "At what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same in Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson,

Oxford, reported by Antony Delaber:" see Foxe, vol. v., pp. 421—427; Arber, pp. 57—63.

¹ Demaus, p. 160.

A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having dispatched his business at Hamburg, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again."¹ It is hard to reconcile every particular of this narrative with what we learn from other sources, and from Foxe himself; but there is little doubt that it is in the main correct. The Pentateuch appears to have been published at Marburg in 1530 or 1531: a second edition was issued in 1534. The Pentateuch was followed, in 1531, by the Book of Jonah, probably printed at an Antwerp press. At this period Tyndale was involved in active controversy with Sir T. More, who had violently attacked his translation of the New Testament and his other writings. The only part of the controversy with which we are concerned is that which relates to Tyndale's accuracy as a translator: More's strictures will be noticed presently. The year 1534 is especially memorable for the publication of Tyndale's revised translation of the New Testament, "imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr." The title runs thus: "The newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale, and fynessed in the yere of our Lorde God A.M.D. & xxxiiii. in the moneth of Nouember." Besides the New Testament, this volume contained a translation of "the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the Church after the use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year." These "Epistles" include 78 verses from the Pentateuch; 51 from 1 Kings, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon; 147 from the Prophetical Books (chiefly from Isaiah); and 43 from the Apocrypha (chiefly from Ecclesiasticus).² The work of revision and translation occupied Tyndale's attention to the last. Very shortly before (or perhaps even *after*) his arrest

¹ Foxe, vol. v., p. 120. Compare Demaus, pp. 229, 230.

² Westcott, p. 48.

appeared a third edition of his New Testament, bearing marks of assiduous labour. In a recently discovered letter written during his imprisonment, Tyndale begs that he may be allowed the use of his Hebrew books, Bible, grammar, and dictionary. There is good reason for believing that he left behind him in manuscript a translation of the Books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive.

The touching details of Tyndale's treacherous betrayal, while residing in the house of his warm and true friend, Thomas Poyntz, of Antwerp, cannot be given here. In May, 1535, he was committed to the castle of Vilvorde, near Brussels. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends in England and in the Low Countries to procure for him protection, he was condemned to death. On Friday, October 6th, 1536, he was strangled at the stake, and his body burnt to ashes. His last words were, "Lord! open the King of England's eyes."

"And here to end and conclude this history with a few notes touching his private behaviour in diet, study, and especially his charitable zeal and tender relieving of the poor: First, he was a man very frugal and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer, namely [especially] in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime, and those days were Monday the first day in the week and Saturday the last day in the week. On the Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England by reason of persecution into Antwerp; and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round about the town in Antwerp, seeking out every corner and hole where he

suspected any poor person to dwell (as God knoweth there are many); and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet overburdened with children, or else were aged or weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his almose [alms] was very large and great; and so it might well be, for his exhibition that he had yearly of the English merchants was very much; and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor, as aforesaid. The rest of the days in the week he gave him wholly to his book, wherein most diligently he travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber or other, whither came many other merchants; and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture, either out of the Old Testament or out of the New; the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly, and gently from him (much like to the writing of St. John the Evangelist), that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the Scriptures: and in like wise after dinner he spent an hour in the aforesaid manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime; albeit his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but only upon the blood of Christ and his faith upon the same, in which faith constantly he died, as is said at Vilvorde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saints. Amen."¹

Some recent writers have endeavoured to place his character in a very different light. It may be acknowledged that in controversy Tyndale frequently used language which cannot be defended, especially when - (with or without sufficient reason) he suspected an adversary to be actuated

¹ Foxe's *Life of Tyndale*. See Arber, pp. 17, 18.

by corrupt motives ; but those who best know the character of the times in which he lived will judge most leniently of this excess. Certainly it is not possible to condemn Tyndale on this charge and absolve his opponents. His fervent zeal for the truth may have led him into extremes, but it was free from any taint of selfish considerations. "I assure you," he says¹ (at a time when overtures were made to him to return to England), "if it would stand with the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare text of the Scripture to be put forth among his people, like as is put forth among the subjects of the emperor in these parts, and of other Christian princes, be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his Majesty, I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two days in these parts after the same ; but immediately to repair into his realm, and there most humbly submit myself at the feet of his Royal Majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death his Grace will, so that this be obtained." Of the value of his work we shall speak hereafter when we examine it in detail. Whether we look at his work or at his life, it is impossible not to admire and reverence "the worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called an apostle of England."²

¹ Demaus, p. 308.

² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 129.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.—II.

FROM the brief sketch that has been given of the life of Tyndale, we turn now to the examination of his work. We shall first notice his translation of the New Testament.

On the following page is given a facsimile of some verses of St. Matthew from one of Tyndale's Testaments. The specimen is taken from the first edition, from the sheets printed at Cologne in 1525, before Cochlæus appeared on the scene to obstruct Tyndale's labours. These sheets, it will be remembered, were in quarto, whereas the edition commenced at Worms was in octavo. The facsimile, therefore, represents the earliest English Testament ever printed—the first English translation of the New Testament made from the original.

Until recently it was supposed that no portion of this quarto Testament had escaped destruction. In the year 1836, however, a London bookseller accidentally met with a portion of an English translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, in black letter, bound up with another tract. The fragment consisted of thirty-one leaves. Seven of these contained a prologue, commencing "I have here translated (brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyng, consolacion, and solas." After the prologue we find a complete list of the books of the New Testament, and a woodcut representing an angel holding an inkstand into which St. Matthew dips his pen. Then follows the translation of

The xiii. Chapter.

The same daye went Iesus ^{marked} ^{Luc}
 out of the house/and satt by the see syde/and mo-
 che people resorted vnto him/so grety that he wet
 and sat in a shypp/and all the people stode on the

shore. And he spake many thyngs to them in similitude / se-
 ynges beholde / the sower went forth to seme / and as he so-
 wed / some fell by the wayes syde / the sowlls ca / and deuour-
 ed it uppe. Some fell apon stony grounde where it had not
 moche erth / and a monit spronge uppe / because it had no de-
 pht of erth / and when the son was vppe / hit canth beete / and
 for late of rotyng wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thorns
 / and the thornes arose / and choofed it. Parte fell in
 gode grounde / and broght forth good frute: some an hun-
 dred fold / some fifti fold / some thyrty folde. Whosoeuer hath
 eares to heare / let him heare.

¶ And hys disciples cam / and sayde to him: Why speakest
 thou to them in parables: he answered and saide vnto them:
 Hit is geuen vnto you to knowe the secretts of the kyngdome
 of heven / but to them it is not geuen. for whosoeuer

hath / to him shall hit be geuen: and he shall have aboundance.
 But whosoeuer hath not: from him shalbe takyn a
 waye eue that same that he hath. Therefore speake I to them
 in similitude: for though they se / they se not: and hearynge
 they heare not: neither vnderstonde. And in them ys fulfilled
 the prophesy of esay / which prophesi sayth: with youre eares
 yeshall heare / and shall not vnderstode / and with youre eyes
 yeshall se / and shall not perceave. For this peoples hert ys

He that hath. where
 re the wordes of god
 is vnderstode / they
 re hit multiplieth
 maketh the poeple
 better. where hit is
 not vnderstode / they
 eare hit decreaseth
 maketh the poeple
 worse.

FAC-SIMILE OF ST. MATT. XIII. 1-15 IN TYNDALE'S FIRST TESTAMENT
 (QUARTO EDITION).

rather more than two-thirds of the Gospel, the last words of the fragment being, "howe camyst thou in hydder, and" (Matt. xxii. 12). As now the prologue contains the very passages which were alleged against Tyndale by his enemies; as the list of books embraces the whole New Testament, and follows the peculiar arrangement which is adopted in Tyndale's octavo Testament; as it can be shown from the woodcut and from typographical evidence¹ that the fragment was printed (by Quentel) at Cologne before 1526; and as the translation agrees to a remarkable extent with that of the octavo Testament; there cannot remain the least doubt that in this fragment we have, as has been said, a portion of the first New Testament published by Tyndale, and that the eight sheets which it contains are part of the ten so hastily carried off from Cologne to Worms. Out of 3,000 copies printed, this alone is known to exist. It is now in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and is commonly spoken of as the Grenville Fragment. This work has recently been rendered accessible to all, through the publication by Mr. Arber of an admirable facsimile edition: from the editor's excellent *Preface*, which contains documents of great importance, we have already given many quotations.

Before entering into further detail respecting this earliest version, let us look at the companion volume, the octavo Testament issued at Worms in 1525. Of this edition we happily possess one complete copy—complete, that is, so far as the translation is concerned, for here also the title-page is missing. This copy, which is in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol, has been most carefully reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Francis Fry. It contains no prologue, or list of contents; but at the close, before the list of errors corrected, there is a short address to the reader, of which

¹ See Arber's *Facsimile*, pp. 65, 66.

we shall have to speak presently. An imperfect copy of the same edition, preserved in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, contains about six-sevenths of the New Testament, being defective both at the beginning and at the end. In 1836 Messrs. Bagster republished this translation, under the editorship of Mr. Ofor. These who have not access to Mr. Fry's beautiful (but expensive) facsimile, will find this edition convenient, and sufficiently correct for most purposes.¹ The same translation of the Gospels is given, together with Wycliffe's, in Bosworth and Waring's Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels. It will not be necessary to adduce at length the evidence on which we receive this Testament as Tyndale's. In the introduction to the facsimile, Mr. Fry fully proves that the book was printed by P. Schoeffer at Worms about the time at which Tyndale is known to have been in that city. In a later work Tyndale makes reference to the address to the reader which this volume contains; and a comparison of the translation with that of subsequent editions which bear Tyndale's name is of itself sufficient to place the authorship beyond doubt.

As might be expected, the differences between the two editions of 1525 are very slight, so far as the translation is concerned. A careful collation of the Grenville Fragment with the corresponding portion of the octavo edition shows that, if we pass over variations in orthography and some manifest misprints, there are hardly more than fifty differ-

¹ There is considerable inaccuracy in minor points, such as the spelling of words. In the course of about thirty chapters (taken from St. Matthew, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Colossians) there are not more than four mistakes which affect the sense; but within the compass of fifty verses only there are nearly thirty differences in orthography, &c., between this edition and Mr. Fry's facsimile. It should be said that the title-page inserted by Mr. Ofor has no authority whatever.

ences of text in 740 verses. Many of these are of very little consequence (as *to* for *unto*, *unto* for *to*, *which* for *the which*), but others show the hand of the careful reviser, omitting unnecessary words or improving the style. There is but little advance in correctness of translation, the emendations being balanced by almost an equal number of mistakes. The only alteration of real importance is found in Matt. xx. 23, where the quarto text has "is not mine to give you;" in the octavo Tyndale rightly removes the "you," which had come in from the Vulgate. That the Testament to which the Grenville Fragment belongs is of earlier date than the octavo, would be clear even if we had only internal evidence to guide us; for in more than forty out of the fifty places in which the two texts differ, the reading of the octavo is that which is found in Tyndale's later editions. In other respects the two Testaments of 1525 have much less in common. The brief epistle "To the Reader" stands in marked contrast with the lengthy prologue prefixed to the quarto edition, and the absence of notes in the octavo is a still more striking characteristic. Our specimen of the earlier work contains an explanatory comment in the outer margin, the inner being reserved for references to passages of Scripture, usually to parallel passages in the other Gospels. As, however, these two Testaments so nearly agree in the text which they present, they are usually spoken of as one work, under the name of Tyndale's *first* edition of the New Testament.

The publication of unauthorised impressions of Tyndale's Testament, by printers in Antwerp, has already been referred to; these will require no further notice. In 1534, however, George Joye, the author of translations of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms (not from the Hebrew, but from the Latin), took in hand a revision of Tyndale's version, correcting it by the help of the Vulgate. Many of the

alterations which Joye made were very offensive to Tyndale; though, no doubt, made with good intentions, they betray great weakness of judgment, and frequently depart widely from the meaning of the original text.¹ Perhaps it is to this unauthorised procedure that we owe Tyndale's distinct avowal that the translation of the New Testament (which had hitherto appeared anonymously) was from his hand. The revised version on which he had been long engaged was published in November, 1534, three months later than Joye's; and not only does the title-page contain Tyndale's name, but at the head of the Preface we find "W. T. yet once again to the Christian Reader." In this edition, usually known as the *second*, the text is accompanied by marginal notes. Besides the address to the reader, there is a separate prologue to almost every book, those prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle to the Romans being of considerable length. A translation of Epistles taken out of the Old Testament,² and a short exposition upon certain words and phrases of the New Testament, "added to fill up the leaf withal," are the remaining contents of the volume. A few copies of this edition are preserved in our great libraries; for example, those of the British Museum, St. Paul's Cathedral, the University of Cambridge, &c. In 1843 Messrs. Bagster published in their *English Hexapla* a careful reprint of Tyndale's Testament of 1534, taken from a copy in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol.

"One of the few copies of this edition which have been preserved is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions

¹ One copy of Joye's work has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum. For further particulars, see Westcott, *History*, pp. 46—48; Demans, *Life of Tyndale*, pp. 387—391.

² See above, p. 55.

of the Testament was a merchant-adventurer of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tyndale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was at the time engaged in superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface or dedication or name mars the simple integrity of this copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title, *Anna Regina Angliæ*. The copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode in 1799."¹

The final results of Tyndale's labours on the New Testament are found in the edition which was published about the time of his imprisonment. There is some difficulty in identifying this edition, as the same text appears in two forms, one bearing date 1535, the other 1534 (that is, probably, the commencement of 1535); where the latter date is given, the initials "G. H." follow. It is probable that the edition "1534 (G. H.)" is Tyndale's genuine work, the other being a pirated edition. One circumstance has brought the book dated 1535 into special notoriety—viz, the extraordinary orthography of the words. A glance at the specimens which we give of the earlier editions will show how wonderfully the spelling of English words may be made to vary, but in the edition now under consideration there is a method in the madness which cannot fail to attract attention. In Col. i 9—17, for example (see page 68),

¹ Westcott, *History*, p. 49.

² It has been suggested (by Mr. H. Stevens) that these initials stand for Guillaume Hytchins, Tyndale's assumed name.

we find *praeyinge, fructfull, faether, haeth, maede, saeynctes, derknes, whoom, ruele, &c.* It has been suggested that the peculiar orthography was adopted intentionally; that Tyndale, wishing to adapt his work not only to his countrymen, but also to those of his own county, wrote the words according to the pronunciation current among the peasantry of Gloucestershire, that even the "boy that drove the plough" might learn to read the Holy Scriptures.¹ It appears certain, however, that the strange guise in which the words appear is the result of the employment of Flemish printers, the novel combinations of vowels being due to peculiarities of Flemish pronunciation. It is worthy of remark that Tyndale's last edition, though it has marginal references and (in part) short headings of chapters, is without notes. Two copies of the edition dated 1535 are preserved. That in the British Museum is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end; a complete copy may be seen in the Cambridge University Library. The text of this edition has not been republished.

The following specimens will illustrate the various forms of Tyndale's work on the New Testament, and will enable our readers to judge for themselves in regard to some interesting questions which remain to be considered. The first extract is taken from the second edition (1534), as printed in Bagster's *Hexapla*. The portion selected is Matt. xiii. 1—14, Tyndale's earlier translation of which verses has already been given (p. 60). For the purpose of comparison, the later Wycliffite version of the same passage is added. The next extract is from the British Museum copy of the Testament of 1535; Col. i. 9—17 has been chosen, as a passage of some difficulty. Here also the reader may compare Tyndale's work with that of Purvey, some verses of the early version having been given on a preceding page

¹ See above, p. 46.

(p. 25). The last passage from the New Testament is Heb. xi. 29—34, as it appears in the edition of 1535: in this the spelling has been assimilated to that of our ordinary Bibles, in order that the two versions may be more easily compared.

ST. MATTHEW XIII. 1—14 (TYNDALE, 1534).

The same daye went Iesus out of the house, and sat by the see syde, and moch people resorted vnto him, so gretly that he went and sat in a shippe, and all the people stode on the shoore. And he spake many thynges to them in similitudes, sayinge: Beholde, the sower went forth to sowe. And as he sowed, some fell by the wayes syde, and the fowilles came and devoured it vp. Some fell apon stony grounde where it had not moche erth, and a nonne it spronge vp, because it had no depth of erth: and when the sunne was vp, it cauh theet, and for lake of rotynge wyddred awaye. Some fell amonge thornes, & the thornes spronge vp and chooked it. Parte fell in good ground, & brought forth good frute: some an hundred fold, some sixtie fold, some thyrti folde. Whosoever hath eares to heare, let him heare.

And the disciples came and sayde to him: Why speakest thou to them in parables? He answered and sayde vnto them: It is geven vnto you to knowe the secretes of the kyngdome of heven, but to them it is not geven. For whosoever hath to him shall be geven: and he shall have aboundance. But whosoever hath not: from hym shal be takyn a waye even that he hath. Therefore speake I to them in similitudes: for though they se, they se not: & hearinge they heare not: nether vnderstonde. And in them is fulfilled the Prophetie of Esayas, which prophetie sayth: With the eares ye shall heare and shall not vnderstonde, and with the eyes ye shall se, and shall not perceave.

ST. MATTHEW XIII. 1—14 (PURVEY, 1388).

In that dai Jhesus gede out of the hous, and sat bisidis the see. And myche puple was gaderid to hym, so that he wente up in to a boot, and sat; and al the puple stood on the brenke. And he spac to hem many thingis in parablis, and seide, Lo! he that sowith gede out to sowe his seed. And while he sowith, summe *seedis* felden bisidis the weie, and briddis of the eir camen, and eeten hem. But othere *seedis* felden in to stony places, where thei hadden not myche erthe; and anoon thei sprongen vp, for thei hadden not depnesse of erthe. But whanne

the somme was risun, thei swaliden, and for thei hadden not roote, thei drien vp. And other *seedis* felden among thornes; and thornes woxen vp, and strangeliden hem. But othere *seedis* felden in to good lond, and gauen fruyt, summe an hundrid foold, an othir sixti foold, an othir thritti foold. He that hath eris of heryng, here he. And the disciplis camen nyg, and seiden to him, Whi spekest thou in parabis to hem? And he answeride, and seide to hem, For to gou it is goun to knowe the priuytees of the kyngdom of heuenes; but it is not goun to hem. For it shal be goun to hym that hath, and he shal haue plente; but if a man hath not, also that thing that he hath shal be takun awei fro hym. Therefore Y speke to hem in parabis, for thei seyng seen not, and thei herynge heren not, nether vnderston den; that the prophesie of Ysaie seiynge be fulfillid in hem, With heryng ge schulen here, and ge shulen not vnderstonde; and ge seyng schulen se, and ge shulen not se.

COL. I. 9—17 (TYNDALE, 1535).

For this cause we also, sence the daye we harde of it, haue not ceasyd praeynge for you, and desyringe that ye might be fulfilled with the knowledge of his will, in all wysdome & spirituall vnderstondinge, that ye might walke worthy of the Lorde in all thinges that please, beyng fruetfull in all good workes and encreasinge in the knowledge of God, strenghted with all might thorowe his glorious power vnto all pacience and longe sufferinge with ioyfulnes, geuinge thanks vnto the faether which haeth maede vs meete to be parttackers of the enheritaunce of saeynctes in light.

Which haeth deliuered vs from the power of derknes, and haeth translated vs into the kingdome of his deare sone, in whoom we haue redempcion thorowe his bloud, that is to saey forgeuens of sinnes, which is the ymage of the inuisible God, first begotten of al creatures. For by him were all thinges created, thinges that are in heauen, and thinges that are in earth: thinges visible, and thinges inuisible, whether they be maieste or lordshippe, ether ruele or power. All thinges are created by him, and in him, and he is before all thinges, and in him all thinges haue there beyng.

HEB. XI. 29—34 (TYNDALE, 1535: SPELLING MODERNISED).

By faith they passed through the Red Sea as by dry land, which when the Egyptians had assayed to do, They were drowned.

By faith the walls of Jericho fell down after they were compassed about, seven days.

By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with the unbelievers, when she had received the spies to lodging peaceably.

And what shall I more say? the time would be too short for me to tell of Gedeon, of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae: also of David and Samuel, and of the prophets: which through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained the promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, of weak were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

If our readers will now place side by side our facsimile (p. 60) and the first of the passages just given, the relation between Tyndale's first and second editions will be easily seen. In the fourteen verses there is no difference between the octavo and quarto of 1525 (except in spelling); the second edition exhibits seven changes—no inconsiderable amount of alteration for a passage of this nature and extent. In one case an oversight is corrected (*sixty* for *fifty*); in two or three others the original is followed more closely. A more graphic expression, "the thorns sprung up," takes the place of "the thorns arose:" here, however, the gain is more than doubtful, for now two different Greek words are rendered by "sprung up," and the hasty growth of the seed which fell on the stony ground is not distinguished from the "coming up" of the thorns. It will be seen that most of the alterations stood their ground, and are in the Authorised Version.

The second and third passages happen to illustrate the *agreement* amongst Tyndale's successive editions, rather than their difference; the only variations being found in Col. i. 14 ("the forgiveness" for "forgiveness"), Col. i. 17 ("before all" for "of all"), and in Heb. xi. 31 ("them that believed not" for "the unbelievers," and "after" for "when"). In fact, not one of the examples here given fully illustrates the amount of revision bestowed by Tyndale on his earlier work. In a chapter of St. Matthew taken at hazard (chap. xxi.) we

find that, whereas the two Testaments of 1525 differ in one word only, the second edition (1534) differs from them in forty or fifty places. In twenty of these the new rendering is nearer to the Greek, in three only is it less faithful than the former version; in more than thirty of these instances Tyndale's later rendering is preserved in the Authorised Version. Professor Westcott has compared the three editions throughout the First Epistle of St. John. He finds thirty-four changes introduced in 1534, sixteen more in 1535; in most instances the change was for the better.¹ Enough has been said to show that Tyndale, like Luther, was continually bent on the improvement of his work. At the same time, we need not go beyond the illustrations here given to be convinced of the excellence of Tyndale's *first* attempt, all the changes introduced by him at a later period affecting but a small portion of his earliest text.

The first impression produced by the reading of the passages we have cited from Tyndale's Testament will perhaps be one of surprise that there is so little difference between the English of 1525 and that of our ordinary Bibles. Two or three words or phrases are unfamiliar, but even these present no real difficulty; the sense is plain. This impression is strengthened when we pass from short extracts to whole chapters and books of Tyndale's version. In the Gospel of St. Mark and the Epistle to the Hebrews there are not more than eighty words (or, as some of these words occur two or three times, not more than ninety words in all) which are not found in our Authorised Version of the Bible; that is to say, there are not more than four strangers in every thousand words, or nine in every hundred verses. In the whole of Tyndale's New Testament the number of different words of this description is probably below 350.

¹ *Hist. of Eng. Bible*, pp. 309—312.

This number may seem high, amounting as it does to nearly a tenth part of the vocabulary of our New Testament, but many of the unfamiliar words occur once or twice only. We have, indeed, no right to speak of the words as unfamiliar, for comparatively few (such as *assoil*, *arede*, *gobbet*, *grece*, *to pill*, *harberous*, *lowth*, *to disdain at*, *to disease*, *partlet*, *man-queller*) would cause the ordinary reader any embarrassment. Many of them differ very slightly from well-known Bible words, as *ignorancy*, *moistness*, *warmness*, *vantage*, *uncredible*, *temperancy*, *conspiration*, *frailness*, *prisonment*. A large number belong to the English of the present day; such are *emperor*, *scruple*, *breakfast*, *farmer*, *tenant*, *gown*, *trifle*, *fiend*, *prompt*, *betoken*, *compile*, *friendless*, *rose-coloured*, *vainglorious*, *hang-man*, *effusion*, *beseem*, *suspicious*, *to piece*, *to swarm*, *paschal*, *rightful*, *sermon*, *prelate*, *angrily*, *ineffable*, *parish*, *pith*, *Good Friday*, *Sunday*, *Whitsuntide*. The only surprise that can be excited by the occurrence of some of these words arises from their apparent modernness; we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that they are nearly a century older than King James's Bible.

On more attentive study, however, we discover that the familiar look which Tyndale's version wears (when once we have overcome the difficulty of the spelling) is not due to familiar vocabulary alone. Not words only, but phrases and whole sentences have rung in our ears from childhood. Take for example the passage given from chapter xi. of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and compare it with the common translation; not twenty words in the six verses do we find changed. This, as all will admit, is a passage of great beauty—a passage most happily rendered; but a glance will show that almost all the excellent points are due to the first translator. The other passages we have cited have, perhaps, undergone greater change, but in these also the well-known terms of expression are continually presenting themselves.

It has been estimated¹ that, in our Authorised Version, about nine-tenths of the First Epistle of St. John and five-sixths of the very difficult Epistle to the Ephesians are retained from Tyndale. When a new rendering has displaced Tyndale's the change has not always been for the better. It would be a gain, for instance, if in John x. 16 we still read "one flock," instead of "one fold;" if 1 Cor. xiii. set forth the excellence of "love," and not of "charity;" if in Rom. i. 18 St. Paul were not made to speak of "men who hold," but of "men who withhold" (or "hinder") the truth; or if "in the name" took the place of "at the name" in Phil. ii. 10, and "by Jesus" (or "through Jesus") were substituted for "in Jesus" in 1 Thess. iv. 14. In these and in other examples which might be adduced the earlier rendering (in substance) should be replaced. On the other hand, there is no doubt that, on the whole, the translation has gained largely in faithfulness under the hand of the loving labourers who followed Tyndale. Still greater has been the gain in rhythm and beauty of phrase, though even here Tyndale stands high. Happy turns of expression such as "singing and making melody in your hearts," "in him we live, move, and have our being," "turned to flight the armies of the aliens" (which are all due to Tyndale), with many others which might be quoted from sections of peculiar tenderness and charm of language (as Acts xx. 18—35, Eph. iii., 1 Peter ii.), tell their own tale.

The connexion between Tyndale's work and our Authorised Version has a less favourable side. If many of the excellences of the latter are due to the first translator, so also are some of its characteristic faults. The inconsistency of rendering so often alleged against our version (and not without reason) appears very strikingly in Tyndale, the same word being very frequently rendered in two different

¹ Westcott, *History*, p. 165.

ways in the same verse or even line. Thus, in Matt. xxi. 23 we now read, "By what *authority* doest thou these things? and who gave thee this *authority*?" The Greek word occurs twice, and the English reader receives the very impression which the Greek conveys. Tyndale, however (no doubt, to avoid the repetition of a word), translates the Greek word in the first clause by "authority," in the second by "power." It is less surprising to meet with inaccuracies of other kinds. At so early a period of the revived study of Greek, the influence of the Latin language was naturally very great, and we cannot wonder if we find a translator neglecting the Greek article because it was necessarily passed over in the Vulgate (the Latin language having no definite article), or failing to perceive the exact force of tenses and constructions when the peculiarities of the same familiar language rendered it an unsafe guide. The real ground for wonder is that, with resources so imperfect, work so valuable should have been accomplished.

One characteristic of Tyndale's translation strikes the reader at once. No one can read the narrative portions of the Gospels, as presented in our Authorised Version, without remarking the multitude of connective words. *And, but, now, then* recur so often that we feel at once that we are reading a translation from some other tongue. The repeated use of a few of the simplest Greek conjunctions to dovetail together the successive portions of a narrative would have appeared monotonous to an Athenian, and is really a peculiarity of the Hebrew language, naturally reproduced in Greek that was spoken or written by Jews. An idiomatic English translation might efface this feature of the original; a literal rendering seeks to present to the English reader every characteristic of the Greek which can be expressed without danger to the clearness or force of the sentence. In Tyndale's first essay he sacrifices literalness

to English idiom, and very frequently neglects the connective word. In four chapters of St. Matthew (xviii.—xxi.) we find forty-four omissions of this kind in the course of 145 verses; in his second edition, however, Tyndale reduced this number to thirty-six. Scholars still differ as to the course which a translator should take, but Tyndale had a definite idea on the subject, and the result is a clearly-marked feature of his work.

These various questions of translation suggest another important inquiry. What was the Greek text which Tyndale rendered into English? Without entering into any technical details, we may remind the reader that the manuscripts of the Greek Testament differ widely among themselves. Whilst agreeing so remarkably that (as was said by Bentley) not one article of faith or moral precept is either perverted or lost in the whole mass of various readings, yet they present many very interesting and very important variations, none of which will the reverent student of Scripture be willing to neglect. Until the year 1516 not more than six or seven chapters of the Greek Testament had been printed and published; the sacred book was accessible in manuscript only. In that year Erasmus's first edition of the Greek Testament was given to the world. It is obvious that the correctness of this printed text would depend on the excellence of the manuscripts from which it was derived. These manuscripts (five in number) are still at Basle,¹ where the volume was printed; and when the science of textual criticism began to be studied with care, scholars were at pains to examine them and estimate their value. Not one of these manuscripts is ancient. The most valuable of the

¹ With the exception of that from which the Book of Revelation was taken. This manuscript was missing until 1860, when it was discovered by Professor Delitzsch in the library at Mayhingen, in Bavaria.

five was written in the tenth century; to this manuscript, however, Erasmus seems to have attached but little value. In the Gospels Erasmus followed almost entirely a manuscript written in the fifteenth century. Before Tyndale's earliest translation was placed in the printer's hands, Erasmus had published three editions of the Greek text, the third bearing date 1522. Tyndale may have had in his possession manuscript copies of the Greek Testament, but there can be no doubt that he made full use of the results of Erasmus's labours, and that the printed text was the basis of his translation. As, however, the successive editions of this text differ among themselves in many places, we must carry the inquiry farther, and endeavour to ascertain which edition was the source from which the English version was derived. One well-known characteristic of Erasmus's third and most celebrated edition enables us to apply a very simple test. In 1 John v. 7, 8, "For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth], the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one;" the Greek words corresponding to those which we have placed within brackets are contained in no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, and were not inserted by Erasmus in his first and second editions. As the missing clauses were found in the Latin Vulgate, their absence from the Greek text gave rise to much controversy. Erasmus's reply to his objectors was, that as soon as any Greek manuscript containing the words should be discovered, he would insert them in his text. One "British manuscript" (probably the "Montfortian manuscript," in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century) was found to answer this requirement; and Erasmus fulfilled his promise, giving the words a place in his third edition. If now we turn to Tyndale's octavo

Testament, published three years later, we find the controverted clauses given without any mark to indicate a doubt of their genuineness,¹ almost as they stand in our Authorised Version. Here, then, we have a clear proof that our translator made use of the third edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament. We must not hastily assume that this edition was the basis of Tyndale's whole translation. It may easily be shown that Tyndale's work agrees with no one of Erasmus's editions. For example, a peculiarity of his first is the omission of several words in Acts ii. 30, and in Tyndale's first Testament these words are wanting;² on the other hand, nearly twenty passages might be quoted in which Tyndale differs from Erasmus's first edition and agrees with his second. A very clear mark of the second edition is the substitution of "ye envy" for "ye kill" in James iv. 2; in all other editions, earlier and later, Erasmus set aside this reading, which had no other authority than his own conjecture, and restored "ye kill;" Tyndale has "ye envy," not only in his first edition, but also in his revised version. Where Erasmus's second and third editions differ, Tyndale seems to agree with the second more frequently than with the third. It appears clear, then, that Erasmus's second edition (1519) was that with which Tyndale was most familiar; but that on the appearance of the third, which contained so remarkable an addition as that in 1 John v. 7, 8, he followed the authority of Erasmus in this passage, and possibly in some others. Before Tyndale's revision was published, Erasmus had given to the world a fourth edition (1527) in which the text of the Book of Revelation was materially improved by the use of the Com-

¹ In his revised translation (1534), Tyndale prints the disputed words in different type and in a parenthesis.

² Perhaps the omission is due to the influence of the Vulgate.

plutensian Polyglott,¹ which had been prepared from better manuscripts. Unfortunately, Tyndale appears to have made no use of this edition. In Rev. xiv. 1, "havyng his fathers name written in their forehead," he has one of its improved readings, "written" instead of "burning;" but as he gave this rendering as early as 1525, it is evident that he obtained it from some other source, most probably from the Vulgate. If this reading was taken from the Latin, it would not be a solitary instance of the kind. In Matt. i. 18, for example, the word "Jesus" is omitted in Tyndale's first edition, though no Greek manuscript leaves out the word, and the Vulgate must have been the authority which Tyndale followed. To the same influence we must attribute the absence of the doxology from the Lord's Prayer, as given in the first Testament. In both these instances the words omitted were restored in the revision of 1534. In later translations as well as in Tyndale's, we shall find that the influence of the Latin versions sometimes led to the adoption of readings not found in the Greek text which the translators possessed. Not unfrequently, as has been already explained (page 29), these readings have been since discovered to rest on high authority, being confirmed by ancient manuscripts not known or not appreciated in the sixteenth century. This question, however, is only one branch of another, much wider and more important—what influence did the Vulgate and other translations of Scripture (by Erasmus, Luther, and others) exert upon Tyndale's version? This question must be reserved until Tyndale's work upon the Old Testament has been reviewed.

Before we pass away from our present subject a word must be said on the order in which the books of the New Testament are placed. The list of books preserved in the Grenville Fragment is very curious. As far as the Epistle to

¹ See above, p. 37.

Philemon the arrangement does not differ from that of our own Bibles, but this Epistle is immediately succeeded by those of St. Peter and St. John. So far, the books are numbered from 1 to 23. After the 3rd Epistle of St. John there is a break in the list, and the names of the four remaining books, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, are left without numbers, and most carefully kept apart from those which precede. This arrangement is Luther's; the four books were placed last by him because, in his judgment, they stood below the other books in rank and importance. It is clear that in 1525 Tyndale accepted in the main Luther's opinion on this point. In his Testament of 1534 the order remains unchanged; but the break in the list before the Epistle to the Hebrews has disappeared; and in his prologues Tyndale distinctly admits, and even argues for, the authority of the three Epistles as portions of Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.—III.

THE two specimens given in facsimile on the following page are taken from originals in the British Museum. The former is one of the Epistles from the Old Testament which are appended to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534; the second is from the first edition of Tyndale's Pentateuch. There are two copies of the latter work in the British Museum: one (in the Grenville Library) is perfect; the other wants a few pages, which have been supplied in facsimile. In this edition each of the books of the Pentateuch has its own title-page, but in no case does this page contain the date of publication or the printer's name. The only information on these points is supplied by a note at the end of Genesis: "Emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of oure Lorde M.cccc.xxx., the xvij. dayes of Januarij." The Books of Genesis and Numbers are in black letter; Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, in Roman. It seems clear from these indications that the five books were published and circulated separately; whether they were collected by Tyndale and issued by him in one volume, we do not know with certainty. Each book has its own prologue. The preface to Genesis is headed, "W. T. To the Reader," and opens with a reference to the writer's translation of the New Testament. To this document we have already referred,¹ as affording trustworthy information respecting Tyndale's labours before he left England for the

¹ See above, p. 47.

vision of the almighty/and when he shall
downe hath his eyes opened: See him but
not note/ I beholde him but not note. There
shall come a starre of Jacob and yse a cepter
of Israel./ which shall smyle & coofter of Mo-
ab and vndermyne all the chylde of Seir.
And Edom shall be his possession/ and ypo-
session of Seir shall be their enemyes/ and Is-
rael shall doo manfully. And out of Jacob
shall come he that shall destroye the remnant
of the cities.

NUMBERS XXIV. 16—19: TYNDALE (1531).

¶ The next sonndaye after the xii. daye The
Epistle.

I will prayse the O lorde/ that though
thou were angrie with me/ yett thou an esie-
ger is turned/ and thou hast comforte
me. Beholde God is my saluacion: I will be-
holde therfore and not feare. For the lorde
God is my strength and my prayse wherof
I synge: and is become my savoure. And ye
shall drawe water in gladnes oute of the wel-
les of saluacion. And ye shall saye in that da-
ye: geve thanks unto the lorde/ caſt on his na-
me: make his dedes knowne amonge the he-
then: remember that his name is hie. Lyste
up. Synge unto the lorde/ for he hath done
excellentlye/ and that is knowne thorow ou-
te all the worlde. Lye and shewe thou in-
habiter of Zion/ for great amonge you is the
holys of Israel.

ISAIAH, CHAP. XII.: TYNDALE (1534).

Continent. The initials "W. T." stand at the head of every page of the prologues to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In Exodus several full-page illustrations are introduced, representing the furniture of the tabernacle, the dress of the high priest, &c. Each book is furnished with marginal notes, keenly controversial in spirit, and vigorous in language; everywhere the writer is bent on tracking out and exposing the errors and corruptions of Rome. Are the sons of Aaron commanded not to "make baldness upon their head" (Lev. xxi. 5), at once follows the comment, "Of the heathen priests then took our prelates the ensample of their bald pates." Where the text brings before us the self-sacrificing spirit of Moses (Exod. xxxii.), Tyndale is ready with a parallel and a contrast: "O pitiful Moses, and likewise O merciful Paul (Rom. ix.). And O abominable Pope with all his merciless idols." Though such comments as these cannot but remind the reader of Luther, it has been shown by Mr. Demaus¹ that they are altogether different from the notes in Luther's Pentateuch: in this respect they differ widely from the marginal annotations in Tyndale's first Testament, which were in great measure taken from the German.²

In the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral we find a volume very similar in character and contents to that which has just been described. It contains the Pentateuch in the form of five separate books, with different title-pages and prologues, and printed in different descriptions of type. Here, however, the Book of Numbers alone is in black letter; Genesis is in Roman, and plainly professes to be "newly correctyd and amendyd by W. T., M.D. xxxiii." It is clear, then, that we have before us a new edition of the translation of Genesis; but whether the translation of the other books has

¹ *Life of Tyndale*, p. 238.

² See Westcott, *History*, p. 153; Demaus, p. 129.

been in any way altered is very doubtful. Even in Genesis the changes introduced are probably of no great magnitude. In the earlier edition Gen. iv. 7 is rendered thus: "Wotest thou not yf thou dost well thou shalt receave it? But & yf thou dost evell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Not withstondyng, let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it." In the corrected edition *dost* is twice changed into *do*, but in other respects the rendering is unaltered. The later translation of Gen. xx. 16, a difficult verse, is as follows: "He shall be a couerynge to thyne eyes vnto all that ar with the, and vnto all men an excuse." The earlier text reads, "and vnto all men, and an excuse." The two translations have not as yet been compared throughout.

It is generally believed that Tyndale proceeded much farther than the Pentateuch in the translation of the Old Testament, and that in a Bible published the year after his death all the books from Genesis to 2 Chronicles (inclusive) are from his hand. The evidence in support of this opinion will be given when we come to speak of "Matthew's Bible." The only portion of the Old Testament which appeared in Tyndale's name, besides the Pentateuch and the "Epistles," was the Book of Jonah (1531). The prologue to the translation (which is five or six times the length of the book itself) is well known, but the translation was until very recently supposed to be entirely lost. As lately as 1848 the editor of Tyndale's works for the Parker Society did not hesitate to maintain that Tyndale had never published a version of Jonah, but a (so-called) prologue only. In 1861 all doubts were set at rest, a copy of the translation being discovered by Lord A. Hervey, now Bishop of Bath and Wells; a facsimile edition was published by Mr. Fry, in 1863.

To illustrate more fully Tyndale's labours on the Old Testament, we append the whole passage in Numb. xxiv.

from which some verses have been already taken, and also a part of the 4th chapter of Jonah.

NUMBERS XXIV. 15—24 (TYNDALE, 1531).¹

¹⁵ And he began his parable and sayed: Balam the sonne of Beor hath sayed, and the man that hath his eye open hath sayed, ¹⁶ and he hath sayed that heareth the wordes of God and hath the knowlege of the most hye and beholdeth the vision of the almighty, and when he falleth downe hath his eyes opened. ¹⁷ I se him but not now, I beholde him but not nye. There shall come a starre of Jacob and ryse a cepter of Israel, which shall smyte the coostes of Moah and vndermyne all the childern of Seth. ¹⁸ And Edom shal be his possession, and the possession of Seir shalbe their enymies, and Israel shall doo manfully. ¹⁹ And out of Jacob shall come he that shall destroye the remnaunt of the cities.

²⁰ And he loked on Amaleck and began his parable and sayed: Amaleck is the first of the nacions, but his latter ende shall perysh utterly. ²¹ And he loked on the Kenites, and toke his parable and sayed: stronge is thi dwellynge place, and put thi nest upon a rocke. ²² Neuerthelater thou shalt be a burnyng to Kain, untill Assur take the prisoner. ²³ And he toke his parable & sayed: Alas, who shall lyue when God doeth this? ²⁴ The shippes shall come out of the coste of Cyttim and subdue Assur and subdue Eber, and he him selfe shall perysh at the last.

JONAH IV. 1—5 (TYNDALE, 1531).

Wherefore Jonas was sore discontent and angre. And he prayed vn to the lorde, and sayd: O lord, was not this my sayenge when I was yet in my contre? And therfore I hasted rather to fle to Tharsis: for I knew well ynough that thou wast a mercifull god, ful of compassion, long yer² thou be angre and of great mercie, and repentest when thou art come to take punishment. Now therfore take my life from me, for I had leuer³ dye then liue. And the lorde said vn to Jonas, art thou so angrie? And Jonas gatt him out of the citie and sate him downe on the est syde theroffe, and made him there a bothe, and sate thervnder in the shadowe, till he might se what shuld chaunce vn to the citie.

¹ The verses are marked for convenience of reference: in Tyndale's Pentateuch, as in his New Testament, there are no divisions except those of paragraphs and chapters.

² Ere, before.

³ Rather.

Let us now examine these passages in detail, taking first the verses from Numb. xxiv. (This passage, we may say, has been selected solely on account of its intrinsic interest, and because it well tests the powers of a translator.) As in the extracts from Tyndale's New Testament, so here, we notice much that is preserved in our Authorised Version; we may easily calculate that nearly seventy words out of every hundred have remained unchanged. Even a hasty comparison, however, will reveal some important differences (of interpretation, and not merely of phraseology) between the two versions. The renderings which will strike the reader most forcibly are the present tenses in verses 16 and 17 (*heareth, hath, beholdeth, I see, I behold*); the last few words in verse 16 ("when he falleth down hath his eyes opened"); the substitution of *coasts* for *corners*, and *undermine* for *destroy*, in verse 17; of *is* for *was* in verse 20; and of *put* for *thou puttest* in verse 21; the omission of "shall have dominion and" in verse 19; and the changes in the first half of verse 22: in verse 18 the meaning intended is probably the same in both versions. Now in most of these points of difference Tyndale's version clearly deserves the preference. In verses 16, 17, an accurate modern translation would come very near to Tyndale's. Both *coasts* and *corners* (verse 17) are possible renderings of the Hebrew word, and either is preferable to the renderings found in the Vulgate and Luther's version. The translation *undermine* (verse 17) is interesting as an attempt to render the Hebrew word with great exactness—an attempt not suggested by either of the versions just mentioned, or by the Latin version of Pagninus. The omission in verse 19 seems to be due to a different reading of the Hebrew, probably incorrect, but not without some critical support. Commentators still differ in opinion as to the choice of *is* or *was* in verse 20. The same may be said of *put* and *is put* in

verse 21; the rendering of the Authorised Version ("thou puttest") cannot stand, unless as a free translation, following the sense rather than the form of the original. In verse 22 our common version is probably right, but it is interesting again to note in the word "burning" Tyndale's effort to keep close to the Hebrew. The general results of a careful comparison of Tyndale's version with the Authorised in this passage may be stated as follows:—There are in these verses about seventeen differences of some importance; in eleven of these Tyndale is probably right. In three of the eleven he agrees with Luther and the Vulgate, in three more with the Vulgate against Luther; in five he has the support of neither of these versions. The instances in which Tyndale is wrong are of less moment. Once he follows a different reading of the original text, twice he inserts *and*, twice omits *and* or *also*, once reads *which* in the place of *and*; in verse 19 he has *cities* for *city*. In minor points the Authorised Version has some advantage: for example, *took up* is better than *began* or *took*, and *knew* (verse 16) is more literal than *hath*. It should be said that in one of the important variations (*put*, in verse 21) Tyndale's translation may be due to the Latin version of Pagninus. Surely nothing can be clearer than that in this passage (and we repeat that the verses were selected for their internal character alone) Tyndale has played the part of the careful, able, and honest translator, using all available helps, but studying the original for himself with independent judgment.

The second passage is of a different cast. There are no difficulties of account in Isa. xii., and hence the differences between Tyndale's version and the Authorised consist almost entirely in the phraseology. It is therefore with some surprise that we discover the verbal agreement between the two versions to be no greater than in the passage last examined. Here again Tyndale's translation often shows

close attention to the original; whereas he is frequently at variance with the Vulgate; and the extent of his divergence from Luther is really remarkable. In the third passage, Jonah iv. 1—5, hardly more than half the words in our version are found in Tyndale's, though here also there is not much room for serious difference in interpretation. The translation "Art thou so angry?" differs from both Luther and from the Vulgate.

We may at present dismiss from consideration Tyndale's translations from the prophetic books; though interesting in themselves, they are of little importance for our present purpose in comparison with his version of the Pentateuch. Of this it would not be right to form a judgment from an examination of one passage only. Indeed, this passage taken by itself gives an inadequate impression of the extent to which our version is indebted to Tyndale in the Pentateuch. The more difficult the passage chosen as a specimen, the larger is the amount of variation which different translations will exhibit. If we take the last twenty-four verses of Deuteronomy, we shall find that, in the first half of this portion, which is difficult, we owe to Tyndale about two-thirds of the Authorised Version; in the second half, a plain narrative, the debt is largely increased, amounting to eighty-six words in every hundred. A study of difficult verses, taken from such chapters as Deut. xxxiii. and Gen. xlix., confirms the conclusions already expressed in regard to Tyndale's position as a translator.

No one will suppose that the characteristics which we have discovered in Tyndale's Pentateuch will be wanting in his New Testament. Here, however, we cannot go into detail; the limits of our space will not permit more than a statement of the results of examination. The translations accessible to Tyndale in the New Testament were Luther's, the Vulgate, and the Latin version of Erasmus, which

accompanied his editions of the Greek text. A careful examination of continuous passages of some length, and also of isolated verses of peculiar difficulty, leads us to the same conclusion as in the former case. Alike in the Old Testament and in the New, Tyndale had before him the best of existing translations, and every page shows that he was largely influenced by them; but all who scrutinise his work with care will testify that Tyndale's version was made neither from the German nor from the Latin, but most undoubtedly from the original tongues.

It may be thought that too much stress has been laid on Tyndale's independence. Seldom, however, has any translator been so completely misjudged as Tyndale has been. One cause of this misapprehension is no doubt to be found in the vigour and warmth (to use no stronger terms) of his controversial works. The unprejudiced reader who looks at his writings as a whole will do justice to Tyndale's deep religious feeling and fervent zeal for the truth; but it is no matter of surprise that those who were the objects of his unsparing attacks should have depreciated his labours and misunderstood his character. Their assertions, unhappily, have been repeated by later writers, who in their haste have mistaken the statements of partisans for authentic history. It was natural for More to connect Tyndale's New Testament with Luther; but we may well be astonished when we find a modern historian of note describing Tyndale's translation as "avowedly taken from" Luther's and from the Latin Vulgate, and another affirming that "Tyndale saw Luther, and under his immediate direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at Wittenberg." More recently still Tyndale has been classed among certain translators who, whilst professing to carry out the idea of forming an English Bible from the original languages, "seem chiefly to have worked for the printers, and to have translated chiefly,

in the end, from Luther's German Bible and the Vulgate." It is therefore still necessary to insist on the internal evidence which so strongly supports the claim which Tyndale everywhere makes (by implication, if not openly), to have had resort to the original Scriptures. When he made his first attempt to obtain the countenance of Bishop Tunstal as a translator of the Greek Testament, he offered an English version of Isocrates as a token of his competence. More himself allowed and appealed to Tyndale's knowledge of Greek. One of the most celebrated scholars of that day,¹ spoke of the Englishman who was translating the New Testament at Worms as a man "so learned in seven languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and French—that, whichever he spoke, you would think it his native tongue." Tyndale speaks familiarly of the peculiar constructions of Hebrew, and the extent to which they influence the Greek of the New Testament;² his remarks on the translation of Greek and Hebrew into English³ will command the assent of all who are acquainted with the properties of the languages in question. In his Pentateuch he explains many peculiar words—such as *Abrech* (Gen. xli. 43) and *Zaphnath-paaneah*—in such a way as to show familiarity with the subject; his explanations not unfrequently differ from those found in the two versions to which he is supposed to be in bondage, and not always for the worse. But enough has been already said to show how baseless are the reflections which are cast on Tyndale's work as a translator of Scripture. His independence in this respect really stands in frequent and marked contrast with his close adherence to Luther in many of his prologues, notes, and expositions of

¹ Hermann von dem Busche, usually known as Buschius. See Arber, *Preface*, p. 25.

² *Works*, vol. i., p. 468.

³ *Works*, vol. i., p. 148.

Scripture. To use the words of one who has examined this subject with the greatest care, "Tyndale availed himself of the best help which lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought which seemed suited to his purpose, but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar."¹

One of Tyndale's adversaries must receive more than a passing notice. We have already referred to Sir T. More's violent attacks upon Tyndale and all who were supposed to be confederate with him. In the folio edition of More's works, more than a thousand pages are taken up with this controversy.² More's skill in Greek is not doubted, and as little can any one question his eagerness as a disputant; if, then, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament were bad and false, by such an opponent the defects must surely be brought to light. It is no small testimony to Tyndale's substantial accuracy that More occupies himself so largely with his adversary's doctrines, so little with the translation. In this, it is true, he discovers many errors, as the following quotation will show, but the same passage will also reveal the method of reckoning employed:—

"So had Tyndale, after Luther's counsel, corrupted and changed it from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the devilish heresies of their own, that it was clean a contrary thing. 'That were marvel,' quoth your friend, 'that it should be so clean contrary; for to some that read it it seemed very like.' 'It is,' quoth I, 'never the less contrary, and yet the more perilous. For like as to a true silver groat a false copper groat is never the less contrary,

¹ Westcott, *History*, p. 164.

² Demaus, p. 281.

though it be quicksilvered over, but so much the more false, in how much it is counterfeited the more like to the truth, so was the translation so much the more contrary in how much it was craftily devised like, and so much the more perilous in how much it was to folk unlearned hard to be discerned.' 'Why,' quoth your friend, 'what faults were there in it?' 'To tell you all that,' quoth I, 'were in a manner to rehearse you all the whole book, wherein there were found and noted wrong or falsely translated above a thousand texts by tale.' 'I would,' quoth he, 'fain hear some one.' 'He that should,' quoth I, 'study for that, should study where to find water in the sea. But I will show you for ensample two or three such as every one of the three is more than thrice three in one.' 'That were,' quoth he, 'very strange, except ye mean more in weight; for one can be but one in number.' 'Surely,' quoth I, 'as weighty be they as any lightly can be. But I mean that every one of them is more than thrice three in number.' 'That were,' quoth he, 'somewhat like a riddle.' 'This riddle,' quoth I, 'will soon be read. For he hath mistranslated three words of great weight, and every one of them is, as I suppose, more than thrice three times repeated and rehearsed in the book.' 'Ah, that may well be,' quoth he; 'but that was not well done. But, I pray you, what words be they?' 'The one is,' quoth I, 'this word *priests*; the other, *the church*; the third, *charity*."¹

This was the head and front of Tyndale's offending. He had discarded some of the familiar ecclesiastical words, employing common words in their place. For *church* he uses *congregation*, as More's friend Erasmus had (sometimes) done before him; for *priest* he uses *senior*, as a less ambiguous word; *grace* gives way to *favour*, *confess* to *know-*

¹ More's *Dialogue*, book iii., ch. 8. See Arber, *Preface*, p. 55.

ledge (that is, *acknowledge*), *penance* to *repentance*. "Senior," Tyndale admits, "is no very good English;" and in his later editions he puts *elder* in its place. Whatever judgment may be passed on Tyndale's procedure, his defence deserves consideration;¹ surely at a time when so many injurious and false notions were attached to the words in question, a translator might well take refuge in simple terms of undoubted signification. Even should the older terms be restored at length, to have been reminded of their proper meaning would be a gain to every reader.

One other point remains, a point referred to in an earlier paper,² but left for consideration in this place. Was Tyndale indebted in any degree to the early English versions of Wycliffe, Hereford, and Purvey? It is hardly possible that he can have been unacquainted with these versions, though, as we have seen, they were not printed for two or three centuries after Tyndale's age. A very able writer on the English language, Mr. G. P. Marsh, considers it certain that "Tyndale is merely a full-grown Wycliffe." "His recension of the New Testament is just what his great predecessor would have made it, had he awaked again to see the dawn of that glorious day of which his own life and labours kindled the morning twilight. Not only does Tyndale retain the general grammatical structure of the older version, but most of its felicitous verbal combinations, and, what is more remarkable, he preserves even the rhythmic flow of its periods, which is again repeated in the recension of 1611. Wycliffe, then, must be considered as having originated the diction and phraseology which for five centuries have constituted the consecrated dialect of the English speech; and Tyndale as having given to it that finish and perfection which have

¹ See his *Works*, vol. i., pp. 16—24 (Parker Society).

² See above, p. 30.

so admirably adapted it to the expression of religious doctrine and sentiment, and to the narration of that remarkable series of historical facts which are recorded in the Christian Scriptures."¹ On the other hand, Tyndale must be heard in his own cause. "Them that are learned Christianly," he says,² "I beseech . . . that they consider how that I had no man to counterfeit" (that is, imitate), "neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime." These words do not disavow all knowledge of the earlier version, but they distinctly deny that that version served as a basis for the new work. A comparison of the two translations (if we bear in mind that they are *translations*—one avowedly taken from the Vulgate, the other frequently influenced by the Vulgate) will fully confirm Tyndale's statement. Again and again we meet with startling resemblances, but on examination it becomes evident that the Vulgate has supplied the connecting link. At first sight it appears strange that in Col. i. 13 both versions should have the word "translated;" that in both we should read "pinnacle of the temple" in Matt. iv. 5; "comprehended" in John i. 5; "tribulation and anguish" in Rom. ii. 9: for in none of these examples is there anything in the Greek which compels the adoption of one particular English word. When we observe that the familiar Latin words are *transtulit, pinnaculum, comprehenderunt, tribulatio et angustia*, we understand at once the coincidences in the English. We are, however, willing to admit that this explanation will not account for every instance of affinity between Tyndale and Wycliffe. Many of the earlier renderings must have become current phrases; proverbial sayings from the New

¹ *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 447 (Murray).

² In the Address to the Reader, added to the octavo edition of his New Testament (1525).

Testament could hardly fail to present themselves to the new translator in their familiar guise. Hence we cannot be surprised to find that "mote" and "beam" are common to both versions of Matt. vii. 3; that "God forbid" is used in both, though the Greek phrase is altogether different in form; that the promise of the "Comforter" remains unchanged, though the Latin translations either retain the Greek word (the "Paraclete") or express it by "Advocate;" that in Matt. vii. 6 both Wycliffe and Tyndale adopt a rendering (not suggested either by the Greek or by the Latin) which refers the "trampling" to the "swine," the "rending" to the "dogs;" or that in the 14th verse of the same chapter both speak of the "gate" as "strait," of the "way" as "narrow." We might even concede to Mr. Marsh that Wycliffe and his coadjutors had in some degree succeeded in fixing the general character and style of an English version of the Bible, and that through their labours Englishmen had been taught to look for simplicity and literalness of rendering instead of idiomatic paraphrase.¹ When all this allowance has been made—and in making it we are convinced that we have rather enhanced than depreciated the just rights of the older versions—Tyndale's claims on our gratitude remain unimpaired; he is still the father of our present version. The labours of his successors effected many improvements in detail, but the plan and spirit of the work have been left unchanged. Mr. Froude's well-known words, if understood of the whole rather than of each part, if read with the recollection that Tyndale was cut off before

¹ "The language of the Court or of scholars is as far as possible avoided, and that of the people followed. In this respect the principle has been acted on by later translators. The style of Wycliffe is to that of Chaucer as Tyndale's is to Surrey's, or that of the Authorised Version to Ben Jonson's."—Prof. Plumptre, in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii., 1667.

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his cherished task was finished, and that others entered into his labours and made his work complete, are as just as they are eloquent :—

“Of the translation itself, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius—if such a word may be permitted—which breathes through it—the mingled tenderness and majesty—the Saxon simplicity—the preternatural grandeur—unequalled, unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tyndale. Lying, while engaged in that great office, under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment to fall, he worked, under circumstances alone perhaps truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him—his spirit, as it were divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air.”¹

¹ *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 84.

CHAPTER VII.

MILES COVERDALE.—I.

THE next stage of our history is widely different from that which preceded it. Our interest has been concentrated on Tyndale, and hence it is rather the Continent than England which has occupied our thoughts. We have followed from labour to labour the zealous translator who, almost alone, with little help or encouragement, strove unremittingly to fulfil his appointed task until martyrdom stayed his unfinished work. The scene now changes to English ground: the chief actor is one who afterwards became a bishop of the English Church.

Of the early life of Miles Coverdale very little is known, nor indeed have we more than scanty information respecting many of his later years. It has been supposed that Coverdale's name points to his birth-place, and that, like Wycliffe, he was a native of North Yorkshire. The year of his birth was 1488.

The first notice which we possess connects him with the monastery of the Augustine Friars at Cambridge, at the head of which was Dr. Robert Barnes, well known in the early records of the Reformation. In 1526, when Barnes was required on pain of death to abjure the errors laid to his charge, Coverdale stood by his side. His earliest extant writing is a letter which (probably in 1527) he writes to Thomas Cromwell, then one of Wolsey's dependents, afterwards his successor as Lord High Chancellor. In this letter Coverdale refers to the “godly communication” which

Cromwell had had with him in the house of "Master Moore" (Sir Thomas More), and earnestly solicits assistance in the prosecution of sacred studies. "Now," he says, "I begin to taste of holy scriptures; now, honour be to God! I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books, as concerning my learning; they once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which He of His most plentiful favour and grace hath begun."¹

If we pass over some incidental notices of his preaching, very interesting as showing the distinct opposition which he offered to the errors of the Romish Church, the next reference to Coverdale is presented in Foxe's statement (quoted above, p. 54), that in 1529 he assisted Tyndale in translating the Pentateuch. It is impossible to say what reliance is to be placed on the details of this isolated statement; but the passage has the look of truth, and some of the minor particulars have recently been proved accurate.² We cannot indeed regard Tyndale and Coverdale as co-translators, working on common principles: as will be shown hereafter, the work of each differs essentially from that of the other. Still Tyndale would certainly welcome, and would receive valuable assistance from, such a companion as Coverdale, whose zeal in the good work was only equalled by his retiring modesty. After this Coverdale passes away from view until the appearance of the first English Bible, in 1535.

How eventful were the intervening years in England is known to every reader. In 1529 Wolsey is dismissed from

¹ Coverdale's *Remains*, p. 490. (Parker Society.)

² Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 229.

office; the great seal is committed to More; Cranmer receives his first public employment. In 1531 Henry is declared supreme head of the Church of England. In 1533 the King marries Anne Boleyn, notwithstanding the threats of the Pope; and shortly after the papal authority in England is formally annulled. Fisher and More pay the penalty of their lives for their denial of the king's supremacy (1535). The rapid changes which the scantiest historical summary reveals could not but be attended with alternations in the fortunes of the English Bible. In 1526 Tyndale's New Testament was formally proscribed by Tunstall, Bishop of London, and Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Three years later the king issued a proclamation against heretical books, and amongst these Tyndale's writings (including his New Testament) were expressly specified. In 1530 the condemnation of these books by an assembly of learned men (after a conference of twelve days) was succeeded by another royal proclamation "against great errors and pestilent heresies, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors." In a "Bill in English to be published by the preachers," we read:—

"Finally it appeared that having of the whole Scripture is not necessary to Christian men; and like as the having of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue and in the common people's hands hath been by the holy Fathers of the Church in some times thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this time in the

English tongue, to be committed to the people, should rather be to the farther confusion and destruction than the edification of their souls. And it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the King's Highness and the Prelates in so doing, not suffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate to the people in the English tongue at this time, doth well. 'And I also think' (was the preacher to say) 'and judge the same; exhorting and moving you, that in consideration his Highness did there openly say and protest that he would cause the New Testament to be by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.'"¹

In a noble letter written to the king in December, 1530, Hugh Latimer boldly reminded Henry of his promise; and as the faithful monitor was soon afterwards made a royal chaplain, we can hardly doubt that this promise faithfully expressed the intentions of the king.²

In 1533 Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Convocation over which he presided in 1534 made petition to the king that "his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king, and to be delivered to the people according to their learning."³ In this year Coverdale committed his Bible to the press, and the printing was finished on the 4th of October, 1535. The place of publication is still a matter of dispute, but the probability is that the

¹ Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. i., pp. 257, 258.

² Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, p. 103.

³ Anderson, *Annals*, vol. i., p. 414.

volume was printed by Froschover, of Zurich.¹ Though issued under the patronage of Cromwell, and dedicated to Henry VIII., the book appeared without express license. In 1536 Convocation petitioned the king "that he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose."²

The following year a second and a third edition of Coverdale's Bible were published by Nyclolson, of Southwark; and here at last we read at the foot of the title-page, "Sett forth with the Kynges most gracious license."

We next find Coverdale in Paris, engaged, under Cromwell's direction and patronage, on Biblical work, the nature of which will presently appear. In the same year were published three editions of a Latin-English Testament, containing the ordinary Latin text of the New Testament (the Vulgate), with an English rendering by Coverdale. All these labours on the translation of Scripture will presently be noticed in detail. As long as Cromwell lived, Coverdale seems to have retained his close connexion with his patron. His last letters to Cromwell are dated from Newbury, where he is employed in proceedings against Romish usages and books. In July, 1540, Cromwell died on the scaffold. Coverdale appears to have left England for Germany in the same year, for in a letter to John Calvin, written from Frankfort in 1548, he speaks of his approaching return to England, "after an exile of eight years." During this exile he was occupied with the

¹ See, however, the *Caxton Celebration Catalogue*, p. 88, where Mr. Stevens gives reasons for believing that this Bible was printed at Antwerp, at the cost and charges of Jacob van Meteren. That the translation was by any other hand than Coverdale's we should be very slow to believe.

² Anderson, vol. i., p. 562.

instruction of pupils, and with the care of a church at Bergzabern, not far from Strasburg. On the accession of Edward VI. he was made one of the king's chaplains. His appointment on the commission against Anabaptists (1550) is another proof of the high estimation in which he now was held. In 1551 he was promoted to the bishopric of Exeter, a preferment which he retained for two years only, being deprived of his see on the accession of Queen Mary. For some months Coverdale remained in a position of considerable peril; many a less active opponent of the party now in power atoned for his zeal by the sacrifice of his life. Coverdale owed his release to the intercession of the King of Denmark. After a second exile of about three years, towards the close of which period we find him at Geneva, he returned to England in 1558. In 1564 he was appointed to the living of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge; but either through the pressure of age and infirmity, or in consequence of his adhesion to the views of the Puritan party in the matter of vestments, &c., he retained his benefice only two years. He died in February, 1569. His character is faithfully reflected in his writings, especially in the work which will immediately come under review. The brief sketch which we have given is sufficient to show how zealous, consistent, and devoted was the life of the second labourer in the field which we are here surveying.

The Biblical labours of Coverdale may be divided into two classes, distinguished by a very simple criterion. Some translations bear his name; his connexion with others is only matter of inference. We are now concerned with the former class, in which are included the Bible of 1535 (1537, 1550, 1553) and the Latin-English Testaments of 1538. It is somewhat surprising that the character of Coverdale's Bible should have been greatly misunderstood.

Had the translator left his work to make its own impression, the misunderstanding might have been natural; but nothing can be clearer than the language which he uses in his Prologue "unto the Christian Reader." "Considering how excellent knowledge and learning an interpreter of Scripture ought to have in the tongues, and pondering also mine own insufficiency therein, and how weak I am to perform the office of a translator, I was the more loath to meddle with this work. Notwithstanding, when I considered how great pity it was that we should want it so long, and called to my remembrance the adversity of them which were not only of ripe knowledge, but would also with all their hearts have performed that they began, if they had not had impediment; considering, I say, that by reason of their adversity it could not so soon have been brought to an end as our most prosperous nation would fain have had it; these and other reasonable causes considered, I was the more bold to take it in hand. And to help me herein I have had sundry translations,¹ not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch interpreters, whom (because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required. But, to say the truth before God, it was neither my labour nor desire to have this work put in my hand; nevertheless it grieved me that other nations should be more plenteously provided for with the Scripture in their mother tongue than we; therefore, when I was instantly required, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will. Whereas some men think now that many translations make division in the faith and in the people of

¹ In his Dedication to the king, Coverdale speaks of himself as having "with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated out of *five* sundry interpreters."

God, that is not so ; for it was never better with the congregation of God than when every church almost had the Bible of a sundry translation. . . . Now whereas the most famous interpreters of all give sundry judgments of the text (so far as it is done by the spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost), methink no man should be offended thereat, for they refer their doings in meekness to the spirit of truth in the congregation of God ; and sure I am that there cometh more knowledge and understanding of the Scripture by their sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. For that one interpreteth something obscurely in one place, the same translateth another (or else he himself) more manifestly by a more plain vocabole of the same meaning in another place. Be not thou offended therefore, good reader, though one call a *scribe* that another calleth a *lawyer* ; or *elders* that another calleth *father and mother* ; or *repentance* that another calleth *penance* or *amendment*. For if thou be not deceived by men's traditions, thou shalt find no more diversity between these terms than between fourpence and a groat. And this manner have I used in my translation, calling it in some place *penance*, that in another I call *repentance* ; and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the truth may see how that we abhor not this word *penance*, as they untruly report of us, no more than the interpreters of Latin abhor *pœnitere*, when they read *resipiscere*."

Three things are clear from this quotation. First, Coverdale did not seek the work of translation. Though full of zeal in sacred study, he was not the man who would aspire to speak with the authoritative voice of a translator. The commission was pressed on him by others, who urged the claims of duty and prevailed. Secondly, as a translator Coverdale instinctively adopted a policy of mediation.

Tyndale would discard words which had been misunderstood, though his strictness might isolate him from all ecclesiastical writings. Coverdale now accepts the current term, now adopts the explanation, that he may show the equivalence of the two, if rightly understood. But the most important point is this. Coverdale expressly disclaims the honour of *direct* translation. Not the original tongues, but sundry interpreters, German and Latin, are the sources of his work. Before entering on the various questions which have been raised in connexion with this subject, we will give some specimens of the translation itself. The passages selected are those which have already been given in Tyndale's version (see pp. 80, 83), viz., Numb. xxiv. 15—24, Isa. xii, Col. i. 9—17.

NUMBERS XXIV. 15—24.

And he toke vp his parable, and sayde : Thus sayeth Balaam the sonne of Beor : Thus sayeth the man whose eyes are opened : Thus sayeth he which heareth the wordes of God, & that hath the knowlege of the hiest, euen he that sawe the vision of the Allmightie, & fell downe, and his eyes were opened : I shal se him, but not now : I shal beholde him, but not nie at hande. There shal a starre come out of Jacob, & a cepter shall come vp out of Israel, and shal smyte the rulers of the Moabites, and ouercome all the children of Seth.

Edom shalbe his possession, and Seir shalbe his enemies possession, but Israel shal do manfully. Out of Jacob shal come he that hath dominion, and shall destroye the remnaunt of the cities.

And whan he sawe the Amalechites, he toke vp his parable, & sayde : Amalec the first amonge the Heithen, but at the last thou shalt perishe vterly. And whan he sawe the Kenites, he toke vp his parable, & sayde : Stronge is thy dwellinge, and on a rocke hast thou put thy nest, neuertheles thou shalt be a burninge vnto Kain, tyll Assur take the prisoner.

And he toke vp his parable agayne, & sayde : Alas, who shal lyue, whan God doth this ? And shippes out of Citim shall subdue Assur and Eber. He himself also shal perishe vterly.

ISAIAH XII.

So that then thou shalt saye: O Lorde, I thanke the, for thou wast displeased at me, but thou hast refrayned thy wrath, and hast mercy npon me. Beholde, God is my health, in whom I trust, and am not afrayde. For the Lorde God is my strength, and my prayse, he also shalbe my refuge. Therefore with ioye shal ye drawe water out of the welles of the Sauoure, and then shal ye saye: Let us geue thanks unto the Lorde, and call vpon his name, and declare his counsels amonge the people, and kepe them in remembraunce, for his name is excellent. O synge praises vnto the Lorde, for he doth greate things, as it is knowne in all the worlde. Crie out, and he glad, thou that dwellest in Sion, for greate is thy prince: the holy one of Israel.

COLOSSIANS I. 9—17.

For this cause we also, sence the daye that we herde of it, ceasse not to praye for you, & desyre that ye mighte be fulfilled with the knowlege of his will, in all wysdome and spirituall vnderstandinge, that ye mighte walke worthy off the Lorde, to please him in all thinges, and to be frutefull in all good workes, and growe in the knowlege of God: & to be strengthened with all power acordinge to the mighte of his glory, to all pacience and longsufferynge with ioyfulness, and geue thanks vnto the father, which hath made vs mete for the enheritaunce of sayntes in lighte.

Which hath delyuered vs from the power of darknesse, & translated vs in to the kyngdome of his deare sonne (in whom we haue redempcion thorow his bloude, namely, the forgeuenes of synnes). Which is the ymage of the inuisyble God, first begotten before all creatures. For by him were all thinges created, that are in heauen and earth, thinges vysible and thinges inuisible, whether they be maiesties or lordshippes, ether rules or powers: All thinges are created by him and in him, and he is before all thinges, and in him all thinges haue their beyng.

CHAPTER VIII.

MILES COVERDALE.—II.

IN dealing with Coverdale's Bible, as in every similar case, we have two questions before us: What are the characteristic features of the version? From what sources is it derived, and with what helps was it executed? In this particular instance the latter question may with advantage take precedence, not only because of its intrinsic importance, but also because the quotation already given (p. 101) from the Prologue has brought the subject into prominence. Coverdale's own words would prepare us for finding little originality in his work. Had we no specimen of his translation, we should conclude that he ought to be placed in the same class with Wycliffe and Purvey rather than with Tyndale. The title-page alleges that the work has been faithfully translated out of Dutch (*i.e.*, German) and Latin into English. It is true that other copies of the book have a title-page from which ~~these~~ words are absent; but the agreement between them and Coverdale's statement, already quoted, is so complete, that we cannot but regard the title as presenting Coverdale's own description of his work. The reader may be surprised to learn that so clear a statement has been challenged, but such is the fact.

In 1818 a new translation of a portion of the Old Testament was published by Dr. Bellamy, who justified his enterprise by laboured and wholesale depreciation of the existing versions. According to this writer, "the common translations in all the European languages were made from

the modern Septuagint and the Vulgate ;" and, in particular, "the present authorised version and all the national versions of Europe were translated from the Vulgate." These extravagant assertions were strongly controverted by Dr. Whittaker, in *An Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures*. Unfortunately the critic was himself led into extremes. In his zeal to prove that our translators had not been servile imitators of Jerome and others, Whittaker stoutly maintained that Coverdale as well as Tyndale had translated directly from the Hebrew original. Coverdale's avowal that he translated out of "five interpreters" is explained as a mere acknowledgment of help received, such help as every conscientious translator will seek. As to the statement in the title, Dr. Whittaker owns that he had not been able to consult a copy of the book in which the title-page had been preserved, but adds that, if the words are found there, "the title-page contains a very great misapprehension." This bold language is the result of a defective knowledge of the facts of the case. Coverdale's five translators, Whittaker maintains, "*can have been* no other than the Latin Vulgate, the Latin of Pagninus, the German of Luther, a Dutch translation of Luther, and a German translation of the Vulgate." These five are, of course, practically three—two Latin, and one German. In some passages, however, as Isaiah lvii. 5 ("Ye take youre pleasure vnder the okes, and vnder all grene trees"), Coverdale agrees with no one of these versions, nor with the Septuagint. If, then, the premises be granted, viz., that no other version than these could possibly be consulted, the conclusion will be clear. Coverdale's translation of the passage (which agrees in the main with the true sense of the original) must come directly from the Hebrew. Whittaker's mistake (which has been endorsed by many later writers) has been exposed by Dr. Ginsburg, who shows that

in this and many other passages Coverdale has followed the version by Leo Juda and others (see p. 42), commonly called the Zurich Bible. This version Whittaker cannot have examined ; as, however, he makes a passing reference to it in another place, it is not a little surprising that he should have excluded it from the list of the authorities accessible to our translator. That this version was accessible to Coverdale would be in every way probable, even were the proof of his actual use of it much less complete.

It is not easy to decide which were the "five" interpreters whom Coverdale "was glad to follow," but the question is one of great interest. If the reader will carefully compare the two translations of Numbers xxiv. 15—24 which have been given (pp. 83, 103) from Tyndale's Pentateuch and Coverdale's Bible respectively, he will find that there are about forty-three variations which may be called differences of translation, some (twenty-two) of greater, some (twenty-one) of smaller moment. Besides these, there are fourteen variations in points of English expression, and six in the order of words. In all there are about sixty-three variations, an average of twenty-seven in every hundred words. Of the forty-three variations of translation, every one agrees with Luther and the Zurich version (which in this passage differ only in points of dialect), though in one instance the Vulgate has distinctly influenced the choice of words. Of the fourteen variations in the next class, three are merely points of English, points in which no external influence can have play : in the eleven which remain, Coverdale agrees with the German. In five out of the six variations in the order of words the same coincidence may be traced. Hence, where Coverdale differs from Tyndale, the variation is almost invariably in agreement with the German. Wherever

in these ten verses the two versions agree in a point of interpretation, they agree with Luther also. Where Luther and the Vulgate differ, Coverdale is almost always on the side of the former. So far, therefore, as this passage bears evidence, we are led to Luther and the Vulgate as two of Coverdale's interpreters. To these we must add Tyndale; for though the difference between the two is often marked, there are coincidences of expression which cannot have been accidental, and which can only be explained on the supposition that Coverdale had Tyndale's translation before him. In these verses, then, we must call Coverdale's version a translation from the German, executed with the assistance of the Vulgate and Tyndale's version.

Let us now take a chapter of the New Testament, Luke xv., a chapter not presenting many difficulties to the translator. It is evident, to begin with, that Coverdale made use of Tyndale's version here. Both use the word "resorted" in verse 1, "similitude" in verse 3 (though the Vulgate would suggest "parable"), "wilderness" in verse 4 (Latin, *in deserto*). In verse 13 we find in both, "took his journey into a far country, and there he wasted his goods with riotous living," except that Coverdale reads "wasted he," instead of "he wasted." If further proof than this example were needed, the agreement in verse 25, "minstrelsy" (where we now read "music"), and in verse 27, "safe and sound," would convince the most incredulous that the translations are not independent. Still, the amount of variation is great. A minute examination shows that in this comparatively easy chapter Coverdale departs from Tyndale's Testament of 1534 in 146 instances. (If we were to take Tyndale's first edition as our standard, this number would be increased to 150.) Many of the variations, no doubt, are very slight, but for our present purpose

it is necessary to include all. In several instances the variation, as in the former passage, is purely verbal,—*upon* for *on*, *unto* for *to*, &c. Here, of course, no foreign influence can be traced. Setting these instances aside, we find that in almost every variation Coverdale agrees with Luther's version. The direct influence of the Vulgate is seen in such renderings as "doth penance" (verses 7, 10), where Tyndale has "repenteth."

In the Pentateuch and in the New Testament the Swiss translators to a very large extent followed Luther, merely adapting his work to the dialect of their country. In the Prophets and some other books of the Old Testament, the Zurich Bible differs widely from Luther's; and here Coverdale's preference for the Swiss version is strongly marked. One example has been given, from Isaiah lvii. 5. Dr. Ginsburg, in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, gives a number of passages in which Coverdale has literally followed the Zurich Bible; and remarks that in this book of Scripture the instances in which Coverdale follows the Vulgate and Luther are comparatively few. Professor Westcott goes carefully into this subject in an Appendix to his *History of the English Bible* (second edition). He examines fifty-five passages in which Coverdale has shown some doubt as to the meaning, and has therefore given one interpretation in the text, and an alternative in the margin. For example: in Genesis xxxiii. 19 we find in the text "an hundred pence;" in the margin, "some read, an hundred lambs." In Psalms xxxvii. 21 the text is, "The ungodly borroweth, and payeth not again:" the marginal note, "Some read thus, The ungodly lendeth upon usury, and not for naught." Here then, reckoning text and margin, we have more than one hundred renderings to trace. Dr. Westcott discovers almost all in one or more of the following five versions—the Vulgate, Pagninus's Latin version, Luther, the Zurich

Bible, and Tyndale. In seven instances only does he not identify the rendering. A more recent examination of early editions of the two German versions (in the library of the British Museum) has brought to light this small remainder, so that we have now presumptive evidence that the sources of Coverdale's work are completely before us. We cannot, indeed, say with certainty whether Tyndale's translation is included among the "five" of which Coverdale speaks, or whether the fifth, like the other four, is some additional Latin or German version. Nothing but an examination of the whole fabric of his version can set this question altogether at rest. Whatever light further research may throw on points of detail, it is not likely that these general results can be in any way shaken. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the words upon the title-page of Coverdale's Bible are to be taken in their simple and obvious meaning, not set aside as a "bookselling artifice of the time;" and that the straightforward confession was made, not because it would "make the work circulate better, as being intimately connected with the reformed doctrines," but because the truthful modesty of the translator shrank from claiming credit for work which he had never done, and which really lay beyond his powers.

Coverdale's relation to Tyndale requires a little further attention. No writer on the subject appears to have noticed how this relation varies in different parts of the New Testament. Luke xv., referred to before, will serve as a specimen of the historical books—the Gospels and the Acts. In most of the Epistles Coverdale makes many changes. Taking sixty verses at random from Romans, 2 Corinthians, 2 Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews, we find that Coverdale departs from Tyndale's Testament of 1534 rather more than twice in every verse. In the subjoined extract from Romans iii. (in modern

spelling), the words which differ from Tyndale are printed in italics:—

"What *furtherance* then *have* the *Jews*? Or what advantageth circumcision? Surely very much. First: unto them was committed *what* God *spake*. *But whereas* some of them did not believe *thereon*, what then? *should* their unbelief make the promise of God of *none* effect? God forbid. Let *it rather be thus, that* God *is* true, and all men liars. As it is written: That thou *mayest* be justified in thy *sayings*, and shouldest overcome when thou art judged. *But if it be so, that* our unrighteousness *praiseth* the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God *then* unrighteous, *that he is angry therefore*? (I speak *thus* after the manner of men) God forbid. How *might* God then judge the world? *For* if the *truth* of God *be* through my lie *the* more excellent unto his praise, why *should* I *then* be judged *yet* as a sinner? and not rather to *do thus* (as *we are* evil spoken of, and as some *report*, that we *should* say). Let us do evil, that good may come thereof. Whose damnation is just."

In the first Epistle of St. John, Professor Westcott reckons about one alteration for every verse. In the Epistles of St. Peter also there are many changes. In the Epistle of St. James, however, containing 108 verses, the difference between Coverdale and Tyndale amounts to *three words only*; and even here the change merely consists in the adoption of Tyndale's earlier instead of his later rendering. In St. Jude the agreement is complete. In Revelation i. two words are altered. One of these is *angel* for *messenger* (verse 20): throughout the Epistles to the Seven Churches Coverdale retains this word, whereas Tyndale, with strange inconsistency, has now *messenger*, now *angel*, and once (chap. iii. 7) *tidings-bringer*. In chap. ii. there are besides two slight verbal changes, and one

alteration which is sufficiently interesting to be noticed more particularly. In verse 3, "and hast suffered and hast patience" is the very clear rendering of Tyndale's earlier Testament; but in his second edition we are startled to find the words "didst wash thyself" in the place of "hast suffered." Strange as the words appear in this connexion, we find on examination that they are a faithful translation of Erasmus's Greek text, which in the Apocalypse was very incorrect. Coverdale, *gaining* by his dependence on other translators in such an instance as this, where editions of the Greek Testament presented an incorrect text, naturally retained the earlier words, and Tyndale's later rendering found no place in any other version.

Although Coverdale's is but a secondary translation, a version derived from other versions, its importance in the history of the English Bible is great. We cannot too carefully bear in mind that in three-fourths of the Old Testament this was the first printed version presented to the English reader. Throughout this large portion of the Bible Coverdale for the present stands alone. Some isolated chapters had been published by Tyndale, the "Epistles from the Old Testament," already described; but a comparison of the two versions of Isaiah xii. will show that they have little in common. If we go on to compare with both the chapter as it stands in our present Bibles, we shall find that, in one hundred points of translation, the Authorised Version agrees with Tyndale against Coverdale in thirty-two, with Coverdale against Tyndale in twenty-seven, with both in nineteen, with neither in twenty-two. In Luke xv. the Authorised Version accords with these two versions where they agree with each other, except in about one instance in every verse. In ninety-four instances the Authorised Version agrees with Tyndale against Coverdale, in thirty-two with Coverdale against Tyndale: in nineteen

places where the two differ the Authorised Version agrees with neither. We will not further tax the patience of our readers by numerical statements. Such analyses, however, are the only means by which the exact relation of the versions can be made clear.

Coverdale's Bible is divided into six parts. The first contains the Pentateuch; the second, the historical books from Joshua to Esther (or, as it is here written, *Hester*), Ezra and Nehemiah being denominated 1 and 2 Esdras; the third, Job, the Psalter, the "Proverbs of Salomon," the "Preacher of Salomon," and "Salomon's Balettes." In the fourth, embracing the prophetical books, Baruch (with the Epistle of Jeremy) finds a place before Ezekiel; but a note at the end states that the book "is not in the canon of the Hebrew," and a later notice explains that Baruch belongs to the Apocrypha, but is "set among the prophets next unto Jeremy, because he was his scribe, and in his time." The Book of Lamentations is thus introduced: "And it came to passe (after Israel was brought into captivity, and Jerusalem destroyed) that Jeremy the Prophet sat wepinge, mournynge, and making his mone in Jerusalem; so that with an heuy herte he sighed and sobbed, sayenge." The fifth part contains the Apocryphal Books, arranged in the same order as in the Authorised Version: the Prayer of Manasses, however, is omitted altogether.

The short preface to the Apocrypha is so characteristic, that we venture to give it in full:—"These bokes (good reader) which be called Apocrypha, are not iudged amonge the doctours to be of like reputacion with the other scripture, as thou mayest perceave by S. Jerome in *epistola ad Paulinum*. And the chefe cause therof is this: there be many places in them that seme to be repugnaunt vnto the open and manifest trueth in the other bokes of the byble. Neuertheles I haue not gathered them together to the intent that I wolde

haue them despysed, or little sett by, or that I shulde thinke them false, for I am not able to proue it: Yee I doute not verely, yf they were equally conferred with the other open scripture (tyme, place, and circumstaunce in all thinges considered) they shulde nether seme contrary, ner be vntruly and peruersly alledged. Treuth it is: a mans face can not be sene so wel in a water as in a fayre glasse: nether can it be shewed so clearly in a water that is stered or moued, as in a styll water. These and many other darck places of scripture haue bene so stered and myxte with blynde and cuvetous opynions of men, which haue cast soch a myst afore the eyes of the symple, that as longe as they be not conferred with the other places of scripture, they shall not seme other wyse to be vnderstonde, then as cuvetousnes expoundeth them. But who so euer thou be that readest scriptures, let the holy goost be thy teacher, and let one text expounde another vnto the: As for soch dreames, visions and darck sentences as be hyd from thy vnderstandinge, commytte them vnto God, and make no articles of them: But let the playne text be thy gyde, and the sprete of God (which is the author therof) shal lede the in all treuth. As for the prayer of Salomon (which thou findest not herin), the prayer of Azarias, and the swete song that he and his two felowes songe in the fyre: the first (namely the prayer of Salomon) readest thou in the eight chapter of the thirde boke of the kynges, so that it appeareth not to be *Apocryphum*: The other prayer and songe (namely of the thre children) haue I not founde amonge eny of the interpreters, but onely in the olde latyn texte, which reporteth it to be of Theodotios translacion. Neuertheles, both because of those that be weake and scrupulous, and for their sakes also that loue soch swete songes of thankesgeuinge: I haue not left them out: to the intent that the one shulde haue no cause to complayne, and that the other

also might haue the more occasion to geue thanks vnto God in aduersite, as the thre children dyd in the fyre. Grace be with the. Amen."

The sixth part of Coverdale's Bible consists of the New Testament. In the table of contents the books are arranged in the same order as in Luther's and Tyndale's Testaments, but are placed in three groups:—(1) The Gospels and Acts; (2) the Epistles of St. Paul; (3) the Epistles of St. Peter and St. John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Revelation. No part has any preface, with the exception of the fifth, containing the Apocrypha; but at the commencement of the volume there is a dedication to King Henry, which is followed by a prologue to the Christian reader. Each book (except the Psalms, Solomon's Song, Lamentations, and two or three short pieces in the Apocrypha) is preceded by a table setting forth the contents of the several chapters; hence in the body of the work there are no headings of chapters. There is, as a rule, no division into short verses, but every chapter is subdivided into sections (indicated by letters A, B, &c.), each section answering to perhaps five or six of our verses. These sections, however, are frequently broken up into smaller paragraphs. Four chapters of Lamentations are divided as in our Bibles, the Hebrew letters which commence the several verses being placed in the margin. A few references to similar or parallel passages are supplied, together with the marginal notes to which we have already referred. Besides those notes which contain alternative renderings, we find a few of an explanatory kind. Thus in Numbers xxxiii. the high places are stated to be "hill-chapels, or altares builded vpon hilles." In Job ix. 9, on "the seven stars," we read, "some call the seuen starres the clock henne with hir chekens." At the end of the Psalter is given a note on Selah: "In the psalter this worde

Sela commeth very oft, and (after the mynde of the interpreters) it is asmoch to saye as, allwaye, contynually, for ever, forsoyth, verely, a liftinge vp of the voyce, or to make a pause, and earnestly to consider, and to ponder the sentence." In Acts xxvii. "syrtes" (in the Authorised Version "quicksands") are explained as "perloous places in the see;" and in Titus i. 12, Epimenides is given as the name of the "own prophet." There are in all twenty-three of these explanatory notes.

The most interesting portion of Coverdale's Old Testament is the Psalter. It is hardly too much to say that this portion is still familiar to all who read the Book of Common Prayer, for the Prayer-Book Psalter is in essence the Psalter of Coverdale's Bible. Out of the seventeen verses in the Prayer-Book version of Psalm xc., a very difficult Psalm, twelve stand now exactly as they stood in 1535; in the six Psalms, xc.—xcv., the amount of difference between Coverdale's Bible and the Prayer-Book is little more than two words in each verse. The numbering of the Latin version is retained, so that Psalm ix. is joined with x., Psalm cxiv. with cxv.; cxvi., and also cxlvii., are divided into two. In each case a note of explanation is supplied. The titles of the Psalms are abridged, everything except the indication of authorship being, as a rule, omitted: no notices such as Song of Degrees, Maschil, or Michtam, are to be found. Most of those who are accustomed to the liturgy of the Church of England are strongly attached to the Psalter as given in the Prayer-Book. The greater freedom of translation, the introduction of words which may make the sense clearer, the tender rhythm, for the sake of which expansion and paraphrase are not unfrequently adopted, are characteristics which with many go far to atone for the inferiority of the version in point of exactness. It must not be supposed, however, that Coverdale's Psalter is of interest for those

only who are familiar with the Book of Common Prayer. A multitude of passages, remarkable for beauty and tenderness, and often for strength and vigour, are common to both our versions of the Psalms, and are due to Coverdale. "My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." "Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me." "For thy lovingkindness is better than life; my lips shall praise thee." "Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: they all shall wax old, as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." It would be easy to multiply these quotations, some identical in their language with the Authorised Version, some agreeing with it in almost every point of importance; but enough has been given to show to how great an extent the noble language of our Psalter is derived from the Bible of 1535.

In the other poetical books, in the Prophets, and in the Apocrypha, a much smaller proportion of Coverdale's work survives in our present Bibles. Every page of the older version contains many phrases and turns of expression which are familiar to us all, but comparatively few passages of any length have remained untouched by successive revisers and translators. It is not difficult to find passages in which the change is but slight. "Incline your ears, and come unto me, take heed and your soul shall live. For I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." "Seek the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is nigh." "But who may abide the day of his coming?" "She [*i.e.*, Wisdom] is the breath of the power

of God, and a pure clean expressing of the clearness of Almighty God. Therefore can no defiled¹ thing come into her, for she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the undefiled mirror of the majesty of God, and the image of his goodness. And for so much as she is one she may do all things, and being stedfast herself she reneweth all, and among the people conveyeth she herself into the holy souls."

It would be easy to accumulate examples on the other side, and point out the faults of the version. These faults are in the main those of the authorities whom Coverdale followed: as a translation from German (and Latin) sources, the work is deserving of high praise for faithfulness and beauty.

To one peculiarity the translator himself has called attention. The reader will remember his defence of the principle of varying the English rendering of the same word. He has certainly illustrated this principle in his work, but perhaps not so frequently as we might have expected. In the words which express the idea of *repentance* he is far from regular; *penance* and *amendment* frequently occur, but *repentance* four times as often as either. He refers to *scribe* and *lawyer*, but here his practice is remarkably consistent; in every New Testament passage he adheres to *scribe*. It is not a little surprising to find the Greek *ecclesia* uniformly rendered *congregation* (never *church*) throughout Coverdale's New Testament.

The English of this version does not often present much difficulty to the modern reader. A long chapter will often contain no word or phrase which is not still understood. The enumeration of ornaments given in Isa. iii. is as intelligible as that found in our Authorised Version. We meet with many words which are no longer current in literary English, but are familiar in various dialects; others are more

¹ In the text "vndefyled,"—clearly an error of the press.

antiquated. The following will serve as specimens of each class:—to *spar* a door, to *clip* sheep, a *maund* of figs, *chaft-bone* (jawbone), *lever* (rather), *symnel* (a cake), *doorcheek* (door-post), *body* (as in "an indiscreet body"), *youl* (yell), *perquellies*, *creshet*, *venison* (in the sense of a hunted animal), *hoo* (an exclamation, "stop!"), *smoor* (smother), *chevesance* (agreement, gain), a *cankered carle*, *back* (bat), *righone* (backbone), *rowles* (waves), *mastress* (mistress), *tunicle*, *innermer* (inner), *bug* (object of fear, bugbear), *wood* (mad). Some words now in common use, but not found in our present Bibles, meet us here: as *conjuror*, *trowel*, *sturdy*, *surgeon*. A collection is a *hand-reaching*; augury is *birds crying* or *fowls crying*. One peculiarity in the spelling is very marked: the eye requires a special education to recognise and interpret such words as *szkynne*, *buszshed*, *wyszadome*, which are found on every page. The proper names are usually given in their Latin form,—*Eliseus*, *Ezechias*, *Manasses*, *Amasias*, *Mardocheus*. *Tessalonians* seems to be the form used throughout, both in the Epistle itself and in references, though the city is called *Thessalonica*. These minor peculiarities connect themselves with the place of publication and the authorities chiefly followed in the work.

Several copies of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible are known to exist. Two are amongst the treasures of the British Museum. The variations in the title-page of the book have been already adverted to. Five title-pages in all have been preserved,—some printed in England, some abroad; the latter alone contain the reference to "Dutch and Latin" sources. Two of the title-pages bear the date 1536, but the imprint states explicitly that the printing was finished in October of the previous year.¹ Of the later

¹ For further information on this subject see Fry *On Coverdale's Bible of 1535*; see also Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, pp. 57, 58.

editions of Coverdale's Bible it is not necessary to speak, as they are said to vary but little from the original work. In 1838 the first edition was reprinted by Bagster. The reprint is in ordinary type, and the lines and pages do not correspond to those of the original work; in all important matters, however, it appears to be a thoroughly faithful and trustworthy reproduction.

The Latin-English Testaments of 1538 cannot receive more than a hasty notice, as they hardly fall within the plan of this brief history. We have seen that Coverdale was in Paris in this year, engaged in Biblical work. During his absence from England appeared a New Testament bearing his name, and dedicated by him to Henry VIII. "The newe testament both latine and Englyshe ech correspondent to the other after the vulgare text, commonly called S. Jeroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Couerdale, Anno mccccxxxviii. Printed in Southwarke by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the kynges moost gracious licence." Later in the same year Coverdale printed a second edition of this work in Paris. The cause of this proceeding is thus explained by himself in the Dedication (to Lord Cromwell) prefixed to the new edition. "This last Lent I did with all humbleness direct an epistle unto the king's most noble grace; trusting that the book whereunto it was prefixed should afterward have been as well correct as other books be. And because I could not be present myself, by the reason of sundry notable impediments; therefore inasmuch as the New Testament which I had set forth in English before doth so agree with the Latin, I was heartily well content that the Latin and it should be set together; provided alway that the corrector should follow the true copy of the Latin in any wise, and to keep the true and right English of the same. And so doing I was content to set my name to it. And even so I did, trusting that,

though I were absent and out of the land, yet all should be well; and as God is my record, I knew none other till this last July, that it was my chance here in these parts at a stranger's hand to come by a copy of the said print: which when I had perused I found that as it was disagreeable to my former translation in English, so was not the true copy of the Latin text observed, neither the English so correspondent to the same as it ought to be; but in many places both base, insensible, and clean contrary, not only to the phrase of our language, but also from the understanding of the text in Latin. . . . And therefore as my duty is to be faithful, to edify, and with the utmost of my power to put away all occasion of evil, so have I, though my business be great enough beside, endeavoured myself to weed out the faults that were in the Latin and English before." Strange to say, a third edition was issued (by Nycolson) before the close of the year; this edition bears the name of John Hollybushe, who may also have been the editor of the first edition. The second (printed by Regnault) is obviously the only edition which we can closely associate with Coverdale. The text of this Testament has not been collated as a whole with that of Coverdale's Bible; but, if we may judge from a comparison of selected passages, the amount of difference is not large. In 1 John i., for example, the alterations do not exceed four words in a hundred; the changes are usually in the direction of the Latin, but the sense is rarely affected. The first and third editions vary somewhat more freely from Coverdale's Bible. It is not probable, however, that any of these Testaments exerted any appreciable influence on the later English versions.

CHAPTER IX.

"MATTHEW'S BIBLE."—JOHN ROGERS: RICHARD TAVERNER.

ABOUT two years after the publication of Coverdale's translation appeared another folio volume containing the Bible in English. The inscription on the title-page runs thus: "The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: In which are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew. Esaye I. Hearcken to ye heauens and thou earth geaue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. M,D,xxxvii, Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence." In no part of the volume is any information given as to the place of publication, and all that we can say is that the book was printed abroad.¹ The Dedication to Henry VIII. bears the signature of Thomas Matthew, but contains nothing which throws any light on the translator or on the circumstances of the translation. A brief "Exhortacyon to the studye of the holy Scripture" is signed with the initials I. R. The only remaining indications which can point to any persons connected with the work are the initials R. G. and E. W., found on the reverse of the title-page of the second part of the volume (containing "The Prophetes in Englysh"), and the letters W. T., which occur at the end of the Book of Malachi.

It is evident at a glance that this book is no reprint of

¹ At Antwerp, possibly. See the *Caxton Celebration Catalogue*, p. 90.

Coverdale's translation. Yet, notwithstanding the measure of favour shown to Coverdale's Bible, the new volume made its way into England with surprising ease and success. The first notice of it that we find is in a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, dated August 4, 1537. The Archbishop begs Cromwell to read the book, a copy of which he sends with his letter, assuring him that, so far as he has examined the translation, it is more to his liking than any translation heretofore made. He prays Cromwell to exhibit the book to the king, and to obtain from him a "license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we the Bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday." A few days later Cranmer again writes, expressing his most hearty thanks to Cromwell for having obtained from the king that the book "shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm." This translation may therefore be called the first Authorised Version of the English Bible.¹ The initials mentioned above, R. G. and E. W., are those of the London printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, at whose expense the volume was printed. From a letter written by Grafton to Cranmer, in which he seeks protection against unauthorised reprints, we learn that the impression had consisted of 1,500 copies, and that Grafton had ventured in the undertaking the sum of £500—a large venture at that time. The whole impression appears to have been sold within a short period. The royal license had removed all obstacles which could embarrass the sale or the reading of the book, and the English nation joyfully welcomed the gift of the Scriptures translated into their mother tongue.

¹ In the same year, 1537, the royal license was obtained for Coverdale's Bible. See above, p. 99.

But it is time to ask, Who was Thomas Matthew? What is the meaning of the initials I. R. and W. T., which, as we have seen, are found in this book? The second of these questions may be easily answered. Foxe's testimony, though of doubtful accuracy in some details, is of itself sufficient to show that under "I. R." we must understand John Rogers, the first who suffered for his religion in the reign of Queen Mary.

John Rogers was born about the year 1500. Soon after taking the degree of B.A. at Cambridge, in 1525, he received an invitation to Christ Church, Oxford, then known as "Cardinal College." About the year 1534 he accepted the office of Chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, in which city Tyndale was then residing. Foxe relates that in Antwerp Rogers chanced "to fall in company with that worthy martyr of God, William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, which both for the hatred they bare to Popish superstition and idolatry, and love they bare toward true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful" (*i.e.* difficult) "and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, 'The Translation of Thomas Matthew.'"¹ Rogers's association with Tyndale seems to have been very intimate, though of but short duration. His Bible was published a few months after Tyndale's death. In 1537 he married, and removed to Wittenberg, where, probably, he remained until 1547. During the short reign of Edward VI. he received many marks of favour from the party then in power. His elevated position and his courageous advocacy of Protestant opinions marked him out

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi., p. 591.

as an early victim in the persecution which followed; and in February, 1555, he was burned alive in Smithfield.

The nature of Rogers's Biblical labours will appear when we examine the internal character of Matthew's Bible. Enough has been said to show that "W. T." can hardly have any other meaning than "William Tyndale." It is much more difficult to deal with the remaining question, relating to Thomas Matthew. Foxe intimates that this was merely a name which Rogers assumed from prudential motives, lest his known connexion with Tyndale should prove injurious to the undertaking. In favour of this view, which is accepted by most modern writers, is the fact that in the official record of the apprehension of Rogers he is described as "John Rogers, *alias* Matthew." It is possible, however, that the name is a real one, and belongs to some patron through whose aid the work was undertaken. Neither view is free from difficulty. If Matthew and Rogers were different men, it is singular that all knowledge of Matthew should so soon have been lost, and that in less than twenty years the name should have been supposed to be a mere *alias*. If but one person is signified, it is somewhat strange that both names should occur in the documents prefixed to the Bible. On any supposition the statement on the title-page is inaccurate.

Let us now examine the translation itself. The New Testament need not detain us long, for with very slight and occasional exceptions it is a reproduction of Tyndale's version. Where Tyndale's second and third editions differ, Matthew seems usually to agree with the third, that of 1535. In the Old Testament the case is not so clear. It will be remembered that in 1537 there existed in print the following versions of the Old Testament, or parts of the Old Testament: Tyndale's Pentateuch (1531, 1534), Jonah (1531), and "Epistles" from the Old Testament and Apocrypha

(1534), and Coverdale's Old Testament and Apocrypha. If we compare the translation before us with each of these, we meet with the following results:—

(1) The translation of the Pentateuch is certainly Tyndale's. The changes introduced are very slight, hardly greater perhaps than the variations between the two editions published by Tyndale himself. For example: in the list of clean beasts (Deut. xiv. 4, 5), the last five are given by Tyndale as the bugle, hart-goat, unicorn, "origen, and camelion;" in Matthew's Bible *wild goat* takes the place of *hart-goat*, but no other change is made. In Lev. xi. 22 Rogers and Tyndale agree (with Luther) in leaving untranslated the four words which in the Authorised Version are represented by locust, bald-locust, beetle, grasshopper. Tyndale, however, gives no explanation of the words; whereas in Matthew's Bible it is stated that "Arbe, Selaam, Hargol, Hagab, are kyndes of beastes that crepe or scraul on the ground, which the Hebrues themselues do not now a dayes know." In the passage which we have referred to so frequently, Numb. xxiv. 15—24, the two versions differ only in spelling.

(2) An example of Tyndale's "Epistles" from the Old Testament has been already given (see p. 80), and has also been compared with Coverdale's version (see p. 104). It is therefore only necessary to say that Matthew's Bible and Coverdale's are here perfectly in accord.

(3) In the books from Ezra to Malachi, not excluding the Book of Jonah, and in the Apocryphal books (with one exception, which will be referred to afterwards), Matthew's Bible is almost identical with Coverdale's. In 100 verses taken at random from various books within these limits, the difference in text between the two versions does not amount to eight words in a thousand. In Psalms xc.—xcv. (87 verses) the only variations in translation are an insertion of

the, and the substitution of *thine* for *thy* (three times), *disdainfully* for *disdainedly*, and *we* for *as for us we* (xcv. 7), *said* for *sware* (xcv. 11). With the exception of the last, for which it is hard to account except on the supposition of accident, all these alterations maintained their ground, and are still to be found in the Prayer-Book Psalter.

(4) We have now examined all the books of the Old Testament except nine—Joshua to 2 Chronicles. Here we should naturally expect that Matthew's Bible would give Coverdale's translation, as the only English translation then extant. The most cursory examination will show that this is *not* the case. This part of Matthew's Bible therefore is new. Who then is the translator? The statements of our authorities are conflicting. Foxe¹ ascribes nearly the whole of Matthew's Bible to Tyndale and Coverdale, Rogers being the translator of some Apocryphal books and the "corrector to the print." Bishop Bale² (writing about 1548) speaks of Rogers as translating the whole Bible, making use of Tyndale's version. Another writer, quoted by Lewis,³ tells us that to the end of the Books of Chronicles the translation is Tyndale's; and from thence to the end of the Apocrypha, Coverdale's; and that the whole New Testament is Tyndale's. There can be no doubt that the last of these statements is almost literally true, and that Tyndale left behind him in manuscript a version of the books from Joshua to Chronicles, which was first given to the world by Rogers in Matthew's Bible. We know that Tyndale continued to labour on the Old Testament for months, if not for years, after the completion of his Pentateuch; and we can point to no one more likely than Rogers to be intrusted with the results of his labours. It is also clear that, these books had been

¹ Vol. v., p. 412.

² See Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ., p. 119.

³ *History of Translations*, p. 107.

translated by Tyndale, the general principle on which Rogers acted would lead him to adopt this version in preference to Coverdale's. If we examine the translation itself, it lends evidence on the same side. One or two illustrations only can be given here.

We have to show that the translation of the Books from Joshua to Chronicles is probably from the same hand as the translation of the Pentateuch, and *not* from the same hand as the translation of the later books (from Ezra onwards). There is a Hebrew word (*ēlōn*), occurring nine times in the Old Testament, which is rendered "plain" in our common Bibles, but which in Tyndale's Pentateuch is more correctly translated "oak" or "oak-grove" (in Deut. xi. 30, "grove"). We turn to the later passages in which the word occurs, viz., Judg. iv. 11, ix. 6, 37, 1 Sam. x. 3, and find that in each of these passages Matthew's Bible has "oak." The curious expression rendered in our Bibles "shut up and left" occurs five times (with slight variations), viz., once in Deuteronomy and four times in the Books of Kings. In Matthew's Bible the uniform rendering is "prisoned (or *in prison*) and forsaken." It is not necessary to inquire into the correctness of this rendering; whether correct or not, *the same* translation of this peculiar phrase was adopted by Tyndale in his Pentateuch, and by the translator of the Books of Kings. Amongst the musical instruments frequently mentioned in the Old Testament is the tambour or hand-drum, in Hebrew *toph*. Now this word occurs three times in the Pentateuch, five times between Joshua and 2 Chronicles, and nine times in later books—that is, three times in the part which was certainly Tyndale's, nine times in Coverdale's portion, and five times in the books which lie between. In the Pentateuch the translation is always *timbral*. In the books from Ezra onwards (setting aside three passages in which entirely different words occur) Coverdale always adopts *tabret*. In

the books of which we are now speaking, Matthew's Bible has always *timbral*, never *tabret*—that is, has Tyndale's rendering and not Coverdale's. The effect of such evidence as this, the accumulation of minute coincidences between Tyndale's acknowledged work and the work which tradition ascribes to him, is such as to produce the strongest persuasion that the tradition is true. This conclusion would seem to leave Rogers no part in the work of translation, and to assign him no higher place than that of editor. There is, however, a small contribution from his own hand. In Coverdale's Bible one portion of the Apocrypha was absent, the Prayer of Manasses; the Zurich translators, whom Coverdale mainly followed, having passed over this book. The omission is here supplied. The translation, however, is made neither from the Greek text, which at that period was not accessible, nor directly from the Latin, but probably from the French Bible of Olivetan (1535).

Rightly to estimate Rogers's work, it would be necessary to institute a minute comparison between his Bible and the earlier translations: the hand of the careful editor is evident throughout, as a few miscellaneous examples will prove. In Psalm xiv. the intrusive verses admitted by Coverdale, and still allowed to stand in our Prayer Books, are entirely removed. The numbering of the Psalms is changed, and made to agree with the Hebrew. As in the Hebrew Bible, the Psalter is divided into five books or "Treatises." "Hallelujah," left untranslated by Coverdale, is rendered "Praise the everlasting." In Psalm cxix., and in other alphabetical poems, the several letters of the Hebrew alphabet are written at the head of each section and before each verse. In Job i. 21 Coverdale had inserted after the words, "the Lord hath taken away," the parenthesis, "the Lord hath done his pleasure;" but Rogers removes these words, adding the following note, "The Greek and Origen

add hereunto, As it hath pleased the Lord, so it is done." In Job xxxiii. 23, Coverdale has "angel," where we read "interpreter:" Rogers substitutes "messenger," with an explanation in the margin, "That is, an instructor with the word of God." These notes are the most characteristic feature of Matthew's Bible. Sometimes dealing with points of translation, sometimes with verbal explanations, sometimes with matters of doctrine, they furnish an interesting and often a valuable commentary on the text. As Coverdale's note on *Selah* has been quoted, Matthew's may be given for the sake of comparison: "This word, after Rabbi Kimchi, was a sign or token of lifting up the voice, and also a monition and advertisement to enforce the thought and mind earnestly to give heed to the meaning of the verse unto which it is added. Some will that it signify perpetually or verily." Rogers deals very freely with the notes of his predecessors. Where Tyndale presses unduly into controversy with Rome, Rogers again and again declines to follow him, but he retains useful explanations of the text. He does not always, however, decline controversy. Almost the only note in the Apocryphal books (on 2 Macc. xii. 44) is a protest against the practice of praying for the dead. In the canonical books these notes, placed sometimes in the margin, sometimes at the end of the chapter, are frequently of considerable extent, especially in the Psalms and in some parts of Isaiah—chap. xliii. for example. The titles of the Psalms are carefully explained, the opinions of various authors being quoted. In Ps. ii. the verses are allotted to the several speakers—the prophet, the enemy, God, and the King Christ. The same separation of personages is given very elaborately in the Song of Solomon. In Ps. xcvi. 8, *daughters* are explained as *towns and villages*. On the last verse of Ps. cxxxix. there is a curious remark: "Some read, Then lead me by the way of the world, that is, destroy me."

In Gen. ii. 17, "die the death," the editor carefully explains the force of such apparently redundant expressions, such as "rehearsals of words," as he calls them. On Numb. xxxiii. 52, "chapels," he quotes two Rabbins for the alternative rendering "graved paving stones." In the New Testament Rogers sometimes gives in substance one of Luther's vigorous comments. Thus on John v. 17: "That is, my Father keepeth not the Sabbath day, no more do I. But my Father used no common merchandise on the Sabbath, and no more do I."

Rogers does not follow Coverdale in giving the contents of chapters in one body at the commencement of a book, but usually prefixes a heading to each chapter. No prologues or introductions are given, as a rule. A note at the commencement of the Song of Solomon briefly states the writer's view of the meaning of this "mystical device." The Book of Lamentations has an introduction slightly altered from Coverdale's. The Apocryphal books are introduced by a preface (translated from Olivetan's French Bible), in which the inferior authority of these books is carefully pointed out. In the New Testament the only insertion of the kind is of considerable length, and is no other than Tyndale's famous Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans.

The preliminary matter in Matthew's Bible is unusually elaborate. Besides the dedication and the exhortation already spoken of, and some other sections of no great length (as a Calendar and an Almanac, at the close of which we are told that "the year hath . . . fifty-two weeks and one day . . . in all, 365 days and six hours"), we find a very copious "Table of the principal matters contained in the Bible," occupying twenty-six pages. This concordance or dictionary is not original, but is translated from Olivetan. Rogers's obligations to this French Bible were very great

throughout his work. Thus, the notes above referred to on Job i., xxxiii., Numb. xxxiii., Ps. xcvi., cxxxix., 2 Macc. xii. 44, and on Selah, the preface to Solomon's Song, the division of the Psalter into five "Treatises," the rendering of Hallelujah, are either altogether or in the main derived from this source. Much of the explanatory matter is taken from the commentaries of Pellican.

The order of the books is nearly the same as in Coverdale's Bible; but Baruch is removed from its place by Jeremiah, and placed between Ecclesiasticus and "the song of the iii children in the oven." The Prayer of Manasses precedes 1 Maccabees. The books of the New Testament are divided into two groups, the historical books and the Epistles. The order of the Epistles remains unaltered, 1, 2 Peter and 1, 2, 3 John coming between Philemon and Hebrews; but there are no breaks in the list, separating the Epistles into different classes. There is a curious tendency to give two forms of names, as "Ezechiel or Jehezekiell," &c.

Copies of Matthew's Bible are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum and of Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, &c. The volume is a fine folio, of larger size than Coverdale's Bible. Like that Bible, it is ornamented with woodcuts, most of them small: these are most numerous in Exodus and the Revelation. Of the subsequent editions of Matthew's Bible (1549, 1551, &c.) it is not necessary to say more than that considerable alterations were introduced in the notes, introductions, &c., and some changes made in the text.

Closely connected with Matthew's Bible is that of Taverner. Our information respecting this translator is mainly derived from a graphic account given by Anthony à Wood (one of his descendants), in his *Athene Oxonienses*. Richard Taverner was born in 1505. He was educated for

a time in Benet (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge; but after a year and a half went to the Cardinal College, Oxford. About 1530, being now Master of Arts in both universities, he "went to an inn of Chancery, near London, and thence to the Inner Temple, where his humour was to quote the law in Greek when he read anything thereof." In 1534 he went to the Court, and was taken into the attendance of Cromwell, through whose influence he was afterwards made one of the clerks of the signet. In 1539 Taverner published his edition of the Bible: "The most sacred Bible, whiche is the holy scripture, conteynynge the old and new testament, translated in to English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Rychard Taverner.  Harken thou heuen, and thou erth gyue eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie. i. Prynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*. M. D. XXXIX." The version was allowed to be publicly read in churches. After the fall of Cromwell, in 1540, Taverner's labours on the Scriptures brought him under censure, and he was committed to the Tower: his imprisonment, however, was of short duration, and he was soon restored to the king's favour. In 1552, though a layman, he received from Edward VI. a general license to preach. We are told that he preached before the king at Court, and in some public places in the kingdom, wearing a velvet bonnet or round cap, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck; in which habit he was seen and heard preaching several times in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. During Mary's reign Taverner prudently remained in retirement. Elizabeth showed him marks of special favour, and made him high sheriff of the county of Oxford. He died in the year 1575.

The dedication of Taverner's Bible is to King Henry, and is characterised by manliness and good sense. The preliminary matter is nearly identical with that found in Matthew's Bible. There are no woodcuts, and but few explanatory notes. In the numbering of the Psalms Taverner returns to the Vulgate reckoning, giving the Hebrew numbers in the margin: the division of the Psalter into five books no longer appears. The influence of the Vulgate is distinctly traceable in many, if not in most, of the changes which Taverner introduced in the Old Testament. Thus, in Gen. iii. 5, where Matthew has "ye shall be as God," Taverner changes the last word into "gods;" in verse 24, for "a naked sword" he writes "a fiery sword." In the closing words of Gen. xlix. 6 the earlier rendering, "they houghed an ox," is changed, certainly not for the better, into "they threw down the walls of the city;" in verse 10 "Shiloh" becomes "he that is to be sent." In Matthew's Bible the obscure word *Abrech* (Gen. xli. 43) is retained in the text, different opinions as to its meaning being given in the margin; Taverner removes the note, and reads, "that every person should bow his knee before him." For "prisoned and forsaken" (1 Kings xxi. 21), Taverner has "incluse and furthest," a bare and hardly intelligible translation from the Latin. Many of the alterations, however, give greater clearness to the English. Thus, "a curtesy bawme" (Gen. xliii. 11) is changed into "a quantitie of bawme;" *by* and *by* into *forthwith*; *but and if* into *but if*. On the whole, the amount of alteration is but small. In Numb. xxiv. 15—24, for example, only two words in Matthew's Bible are changed by Taverner—viz., *remnant* into *residue*, and *never-thelater* into *nevertheless*. The principal difference between the two works in the Old Testament, therefore, consists in the absence of so large a proportion of Rogers's notes from Taverner's edition.

In the New Testament the changes introduced by Taverner are more numerous. Thus in Matt. xxi., xxii., containing ninety-two verses, we find about forty variations, of which one-third are retained in the Authorised Version. In ten or eleven of these changes the object has been to remove superfluous words; in nearly twenty a more terse or expressive phrase has been sought for, or a more correct and literal rendering of the Greek. In xxii. 12, "had never a word to say" is more forcible than "he was even speechless;" "intreated them foully" (ver. 6), than "intreated them ungodly;" "stopped the Sadducees' mouths" (ver. 34), than "put the Sadducees to silence." In Luke xii. 29, where we read "neither be ye of doubtful mind," Tyndale's translation is "neither climb ye up on high;" Taverner's, "and be not carried in the clouds." In John viii. 25, a very difficult verse, Tyndale reads, "Even the very same thing that I say unto you;" Taverner, "First of all, even that I say unto you." In John iii. 8, Taverner adopts the rendering, "The spirit breatheth," but with a note that "spirit is here taken for the wind." Another added note is in the Epistle of St. Jude, on the word "feasting" (ver. 12): "Feastinges for the relyef of the poore were called charytyes." Many more examples of improved English or more faithful renderings might easily be given. It must, however, be confessed that in difficult passages Taverner often fails us, and that many plain mistakes in earlier versions remain uncorrected. In Acts xxvii. 9, for instance, Taverner retains Tyndale's translation, "because that we had overlong fasted;" and in Acts xii. 19 we read even here that Herod commanded the keepers "to depart." A curious feature in this edition is the occasional adoption of a novel spelling, in accordance with the etymology of a word. As a whole, the version is of very unequal merit—the work of a scholar, able and energetic, but somewhat capricious and uncertain.

Taverner's Bible was published both in folio and in quarto; his New Testament in quarto and in octavo in the same year. Another edition of the New Testament (somewhat altered) appeared in 1540; of the Old Testament in 1551. Copies of Taverner's Bible may be seen in the libraries of the British Museum, St. Paul's, the University of Cambridge, &c.¹

¹ In his description of the copy lent by Earl Spencer to the Caxton Exhibition, Mr. Stevens—after remarking that Taverner's Bible is very seldom found quite complete—says: "This copy, like all others I have seen, wants signature K, or folios 55—60 in the New Testament. This hiatus of six leaves was probably intended to be filled with a Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans." (*Catalogue*, p. 128.)

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT BIBLE.

THE current of our history now returns to Coverdale, whom we left in Paris in the year 1538. He had been charged by his patron, Cromwell, with the duty of preparing another Bible, differing in some important respects from the two already in circulation—his own of 1535 and that bearing the name of Thomas Matthew. The excellence of Parisian paper and typography was the cause of the selection of this city for the new work. There was nothing stealthy or secret in the procedure adopted. Cromwell was the patron of this especial undertaking; and through his influence a license was obtained from the king of France, Francis I., by which Coverdale and Grafton were authorised, in consideration of the liberty which they had received from their own sovereign, to print and transmit to England the Latin or the English Bible, on condition that there were no private or unlawful opinions in the new work, and that all dues, obligations, &c., were properly discharged. Under this protection Coverdale and Grafton applied themselves with the utmost diligence to the fulfilment of their commission. Letters to Cromwell are still extant, which contain very interesting notes of progress, and also show how deeply Cromwell interested himself in the work. For seven or eight months the two Englishmen and their associate, Regnault, the French printer, seem to have been left unmolested. In December, however, there came a mandate from the Inquisition, which stayed all progress. Happily, a portion

of the Bible was safe in England. Many sheets were seized; but even these were in large measure afterwards recovered, "four great dry vats-full" being re-purchased from a haberdasher, to whom they had been sold. The interruption caused a slight delay, but was most beneficial in its results. Cromwell was not the man to be foiled in his purpose: being unable to secure the accomplishment of the work in France, he brought over types, presses, and men to England. In April, 1539, this "Bible of the largest volume," as it was then spoken of, or the first edition of the Great Bible, was issued from the press.

The title-page, said to have been designed by the celebrated Hans Holbein, is curious and very interesting. A reduced copy is given at the commencement of this volume. The original measures about fourteen inches by nine; the copy, about eight and a half by five and a half. The highest figure in the engraving represents the Lord Christ in the clouds of heaven. Two labels contain His words. On that which extends towards the left of the engraving we find Isa. lv. 11 (*Verbum meum*, &c.). The other is directed towards the king, who, having laid aside his crown, and kneeling with outstretched hands, receives the declaration, "I have found a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will" (*Inveni*, &c., Acts xiii. 22); and himself exclaims, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet" (Ps. cxix. 105). The king appears again as the most prominent of all the figures. Now he is seated on his throne: the royal arms and motto will be recognised at once. The king hands the word of God (*Verbum Dei*) to bishops and clergy on his right hand, to Cromwell and others of the laity on his left. To the former he says, *Hæc præcipe et doce* ("These things command and teach," 1 Tim. iv. 11): to the latter, *Quod justum est judicate, ita parvum audietis ut magnum* ("Judge righteously . . . ye shall hear the small as

well as the great," Deut. i. 16, 17); and also words taken with slight alteration from Dan. vi. 26, "I make a decree; . . . fear before the living God." Below, on the right, Cromwell appears a second time, pointed out by the device and motto at his feet: he is delivering the Word of God to the laity, admonishing them in the words of Ps. xxxiv. 14. On the other side is Cranmer, clearly indicated by his costume and his arms, placing the sacred volume in the hands of one of his clergy, and solemnly repeating the charge of 1 Peter v. 2. Below stands a preacher, enforcing the duty of prayer and thanksgiving on behalf of kings (1 Tim. ii. 1). The chorus of joy and thankfulness expressed in the attitude of the king's lieges, no less distinctly than in the shouts of "*Vivat Rex*," and "God save the king," needs no comment. Prisoners look wistfully from their cells; but whether they are introduced as wondering at the commotion, or as sharers in the joy, or as affording in their own persons a warning that such punishment awaited all undutiful subjects, it is not easy to decide. Many smaller features of this remarkable composition well deserve a careful examination. It represents, with great faithfulness, a page of the history of the times. That the precious boon now conferred was the result of no human contrivance, is thankfully acknowledged here, and in the imprint even more clearly still: *A Domino factum est istud* ("This is the Lord's doing") are the translator's pious words, in which the devout student of history will heartily unite.

Nor does the engraving exaggerate the liberty granted by the king. An injunction to the clergy, issued by Henry's authority, required them to provide by a certain date, in each parish, "one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English," the cost to be divided between the parson and the parishioners. It was ordained that this

Bible should be set up in a convenient place within the church, and that the clergy should "expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same." This injunction, drawn up by Cromwell before the publication of the work, was twice repeated in subsequent years; and no historian fails to relate that Bishop Bonner placed six Bibles in St. Paul's.

Another point worth careful notice is the prominence assigned by the artist to Cromwell. This Bible is often called Cranmer's, but without any just reason. All honour is due to the Archbishop for his exertions to promote its circulation, but the undertaking was not his, but Cromwell's; and the Bible is now rightly associated with Cromwell's name. Fifteen months after its publication Cromwell was disgraced and sentenced to death; but, though the circle under his feet is left blank in the title-page of subsequent editions, the figures remain unchanged, and thus all copies of the Great Bible preserve the memorial of Cromwell's zeal.

Equally truthful is this celebrated engraving in its presentation of the national feeling. "It was wonderful," says Strype,¹ "to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read; and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read." The most convincing proof of the accuracy of these statements is the rapidity with which

¹ *Life of Cranmer*, I., p. 92.

successive editions were printed and circulated. Cromwell's Bible, hastily snatched from destruction, was given to the world in April, 1539. There are still extant copies of six editions bearing the date 1540 and 1541. Nor were these mere reprints of Cromwell's Bible. As we shall see, the agreement amongst the seven Bibles is sufficiently great to authorise us in including them in one family and under one designation; but each has peculiarities which distinguish it from the rest.

Cranmer's direct connexion with the book begins with the second edition. On the 14th of November, 1539, Henry bestowed on Cromwell, for five years, the exclusive right to grant a license for the printing of the Bible in the English tongue. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell is extant, bearing the same date, in which the Archbishop conveys the undertaking of the printers to sell the Bibles at a price not exceeding ten shillings, on condition of receiving a monopoly of the publication. In this letter Cranmer asks "the king's pleasure concerning the Preface of the Bible," which had been sent to Cromwell to "oversee." This Bible had been committed by Henry to Gardiner and others among the bishops for their judgment. "After they had kept it long in their hands, and the king was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the king himself, they re-delivered the book; and being demanded by the king what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the king, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby. 'If there be no heresies,' said the king, 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the king and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended the translation, confessing that he did now himself

espy some faults, which, if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend; but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his translation."¹ In April, 1540, the Book was published with Cranmer's preface, which henceforth was attached to all editions of the Great Bible. Three months later appeared another edition, which, like the last, bore Cranmer's name on the title-page. In November of the same year the fourth edition was ready for issue, though not published until 1541. It appeared under very strange auspices, as the title will show: "The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henrye the viii., supreme heade of this his Church and Realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every church within this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenour of his former Iniunctions geuen in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the kynges hyghnes, by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme² and Nicolas³ bisshop of Rochester." It is probable that the association of Tunstall and Heath with this edition was little more than nominal. Lest the work in which Cromwell had taken so deep an interest should suffer after his fall, other names, representing widely different tendencies and sympathies, must give it warrant and authority. Three other editions were issued in 1541, one (November) similar to that just described, in its connexion with the two bishops; two (May, December) bearing Cranmer's name upon the title-page. We are not told how large were the impressions of the later editions; but as the first edition

¹ Fulke, *Defence of English Translations*, p. 98 (Parker Society).

² Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.

³ Nicholas Heath.

consisted of 2,500 copies, we may reasonably conclude that the number circulated during these years of liberty was very large.

The liberty was too remarkable to be of long duration. Soon after Cromwell's disgrace the opposite party attempted to avail themselves of Coverdale's scheme for annotations on difficult texts (a scheme never carried into effect), for the purpose of checking altogether the printing of the Bible. Grafton indeed was committed to the Fleet, and bound under a heavy penalty not to print or sell any more Bibles until the king and clergy should agree on a translation. In 1542 Convocation, at the king's instance, arranged a plan for a new translation. The books of the New Testament were allotted to various bishops—St. Matthew, for instance, being taken by Cranmer, St. Luke by Gardiner, the Acts by Heath. The plan soon fell to the ground. When one of the translators (Bishop Gardiner) could propose that ninety-nine words, such as *panis propositionis* (shewbread), *simulacrum* (image), *hostia* (victim), *ejicere* (to cast out), should "on account of their genuine and native meaning, and the majesty of the matter signified by them," be presented to the people in this Latin dress, it became very evident that the bishops had no real wish for a vernacular translation. The king now directed that the universities should be intrusted with the work, but the adverse influences had become sufficiently powerful to frustrate this design. About this time Anthony Marler, a haberdasher of London, who had borne the expenses of the earlier editions of the Great Bible, received from Henry a patent, conveying to him the exclusive right of printing the English Bible during four years. In 1543, however, the reading of the Scriptures was by Act of Parliament placed under very severe restrictions. The use of Tyndale's translations was entirely forbidden, and three years later Coverdale's Testament was

placed under the same ban. Permission to read the Bible in English was accorded to certain classes only. Obedience to these injunctions was enforced by many penalties, and was still more effectually promoted by the zeal of the numerous opponents of the Reformation, who spared no pains to crush out the growing love for the Scriptures. On all sides the proscribed Bibles were sought for and destroyed. All the better traditions of earlier years were fast passing into oblivion, when the reaction was suddenly stayed by the death of the king in January, 1547.

We pass to a brief examination of the character of this translation. The principal questions before us are these:—In what relation does the Great Bible stand to those previously published by Coverdale and Rogers? What influences may be traced in this new version? How far are we justified in speaking of the seven issues in 1539 and the two following years as editions of the same work?

Comparing Numb. xxiv. 15—24, as given in the Great Bible, with the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, we find that in every four places in which these two translators differ, the Great Bible agrees with Tyndale three times, with Coverdale's Bible once. Very rarely do we find any new rendering of importance. The most striking are in verse 16, "and that falleth with open eyes;" verse 18, "and Edom shall be possessed, and Seir shall fall to the possession of their enemies;" verse 22, "the Kenite shall be rooted out;" verse 24, "Italy," in the place of "Chittim." In most of the new renderings the authority followed is Münster's Hebrew-Latin Bible, published in 1534-5. In the early books of the Old Testament the successive editions of the Great Bible appear to be nearly in accord, the work of revision being in the main completed when the book was first published in 1539. If we pass to the prophetic books we meet with a much larger proportion of

new matter. In Isa. liii., for example, the Bible of 1539 differs in about forty places from Coverdale's former translation; in the Bible known as Cranmer's we find about twenty additional alterations, some of great importance; in the editions of 1541 hardly any further change was made. The influence of Münster is to be seen in almost every case. We gladly welcome such renderings as "the chastisement of our peace" (1540) in the place of "the pain of our punishment" (1539); and "the Lord hath heaped together upon him the iniquity of us all," is a more adequate representation of the prophet's meaning than "through him the Lord hath pardoned all our sins." We need not examine other passages in detail. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, we see that the term Great Bible represents in the main two revisions (1539, 1540); and that, whilst much use was made of the Vulgate and of the Complutensian Polyglott, Münster's Latin version was the authority to which Coverdale chiefly deferred.

In its general character the New Testament is very similar to the Old. In Luke xv., xvi., for example, the Great Bible almost always agrees either with Tyndale's or with Coverdale's earlier version, but in most instances with Tyndale. What is new is of little value. The impression produced by these chapters is confirmed as we extend our survey. There are, however, some changes of detail which are very important, though they are not always changes for the better. Thus in John iii. 3, "born anew" gives place to "born from above;" in John x. 16, "one fold" is unfortunately substituted for "one flock;" in John xiv. 1, the familiar rendering, "we believe in God, believe also in me," takes the place of Tyndale's, in which all was exhortation ("believe in God, believe also in me"). In these passages the change is apparently due to the authority of Erasmus. Throughout the New Testament, indeed, the new render-

ings are mainly derived from Erasmus and the Vulgate. The later editions of the Great Bible sometimes contain valuable emendations, but the amount of variation is apparently not great.

The chief characteristic of the Great Bible is found, not in its translations, but in its text. In one of his letters to Cromwell, Coverdale speaks of the care with which he notes the "diversity of reading among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks, and Latinists." The result is, that on every page of this version we find some additions to the text. The reader may remember that Purvey's version of Proverbs contains several clauses and verses found in the Latin text, but not in the Hebrew (see p. 27). Almost all these supplements may be seen in the Great Bible. The same phenomenon meets us in the New Testament. In Luke xvi. 21, for instance, we read of Lazarus, that "no man gave unto him;" at the end of 1 Cor. xvi. 19, we find the words, "with whom also I am lodged;" and it is in this version that Luke xvii. 36 first finds a place. It must be confessed that his unwillingness to give up any portion of the text presented by the Vulgate sometimes (in 1 John ii. 23, for example) led Coverdale to adopt readings which are now recognised as correct; but this good fortune is only occasional. As a rule, the additions found no favour with later editors. These supplements, however, were not presented by Coverdale as part of the text, but were placed within parentheses, printed in a different type, and pointed out to the reader by a special sign. Besides this sign, a hand () is of very frequent occurrence in both text and margin of the Great Bible. It had been Coverdale's intention to supply numerous annotations on difficulties of every description, and great was his regret when the hurry and confusion amidst which the first edition was completed rendered this part of his scheme impracticable.

The notes were never published, but in the first three editions the sign remained. Another mark (+) is used in the Old Testament, to point out passages which are "alleged of Christ or of some apostle in the New Testament."

One portion of the Great Bible stands apart from the rest, not indeed in internal character, but in virtue of its subsequent history. A note at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer states that the Psalter therein contained "followeth the division of the Hebrews, and the translation of the great English Bible, set forth and used in the time of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth." This translation was necessarily adopted in connexion with the first Prayer Book (1549), and obtained a very strong hold upon the people. At the last revision of the Prayer Book (1662), when the new translation was accepted for the Epistles and Gospels, it proved impossible to change the Psalter. "It was found, it is said, smoother to sing; but this is not a full account of the matter, and it cannot be mere familiarity which gives to the Prayer Book Psalter, with all its errors and imperfections, an incomparable tenderness and sweetness. Rather we may believe that in it we can yet find the spirit of him whose work it mainly is, full of humility and love, not heroic or creative, but patient to accomplish by God's help the task which had been set him to do, and therefore best in harmony with the tenour of our own daily lives."¹ The general characteristics of the version are found here also. Every careful reader has been struck with the additional words and clauses found in the Psalter of the Prayer Book. For example, "him that rideth upon the heavens, *as it were upon an horse*" (Ps. lxxviii. 4); "their corn, and wine, *and oil*" (iv. 8); "a moth *fretting a garment*" (xxxix. 12); "God is a righteous Judge

¹ Westcott, *History*, p. 294.

strong and patient" (vii. 12); "*even where no fear was*" (xiv. 9); "*neither the temples of my head to take any rest*" (cxxxii. 4). In Ps. xxix. 1, we find a double translation of one clause; "bring young rams unto the Lord," and "ascribe unto the Lord glory and strength." A verse is added to Ps. cxxxvi., and three verses are introduced into Ps. xiv. Canon Westcott gives a list of more than seventy of these additions, some from Münster, but for the most part brought in from the Vulgate. In the Great Bible the word, or clause, or verse, is in almost all cases carefully separated from the context, and marked as an addition; but unfortunately all such distinction has been obliterated in our editions of the Prayer Book. The titles of the Psalms, and such notes as *Selah*, omitted in the Prayer Book, are here given in full. The curious love of variety of rendering, so characteristic of Coverdale, is often observable. The "chief musician" is usually "the chanter," but sometimes "he that excellet." Michtam of David becomes "the badge or arms of David." *Halleluya* is retained from the original, but a translation, "Praise the everlasting," is placed by its side. As we might expect, the inscriptions of the Psalms are sometimes enlarged from the Latin. Thus Ps. xxiv. is assigned to "the first day of the Sabbath." It is curious to read at the beginning of Ps. xxvi. "a Psalm of David afore he was embalmed."

There is little requiring notice in the arrangement of the Great Bible. It contains no dedication. In the table of contents the word "*Hagiographa*" (a name designating those books of the Old Testament which are not included under "the Law" and "the Prophets"—such as Job, the Psalms, &c.) strangely takes the place of "*Apocrypha*." As in the earlier editions of the Great Bible Rogers's preface to the Apocryphal books is retained, we light upon the astonishing statement that "the books are called Hagio-

grapha because they were wont to be read, not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart."¹ The preliminary matter resembles that of Matthew's Bible. The Concordance, however, is omitted, and a short prologue is inserted, to explain the marks found in the text and margin. Short headings are usually prefixed to the chapters, but no book has a preface, unless the three or four lines expressing the general meaning of the Song of Solomon can be so considered.

Many copies of the Great Bible have been preserved. Mr. Fry, to whom we owe the most complete and accurate account of the various editions, has examined nearly one hundred and fifty copies; most of these, however, are incomplete, perfect copies being very rare. The library of the British Museum contains every one of the seven editions. At Lambeth Palace may be seen copies of the first two editions which may very possibly have belonged to Cranmer himself. Amongst the treasures of the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, is a splendid copy of Cromwell's Bible, printed on vellum and illuminated; another copy on vellum (April, 1540), presented by Anthony Marler to Henry VIII., is preserved in the British Museum. A useful reprint of the New Testament of 1539 will be found in Bagster's English Hexapla.

¹ See Prof. Plumptre's article in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1, 675.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GENEVAN VERSIONS.

THE accession of Edward VI. gave new life to the hopes of all friends to the diffusion of Scripture truth. We are told by some writers that from the very first the young prince manifested his reverence for the Bible, requiring that the Sacred Book, the sword of the Spirit, should at his coronation be carried before him. The restrictions which Henry had laid upon the printing and reading of the Scriptures were at once removed. In the first year of Edward's reign an injunction was issued requiring every beneficed person to provide within three months a copy of the English Bible "of the largest volume," and within twelve months a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrase on the Gospels*. As before, it was required that the books should be set up in some convenient place within the church, that they might be read by the parishioners. In 1548 official inquiry was made as to the obedience which had been paid to this injunction. A period of remarkable activity in the printing and circulation of the Scriptures immediately followed. Mr. Anderson's list of the editions published in Edward's short reign comprises thirteen or fourteen Bibles, and as many as thirty-five New Testaments separately printed. Of the editions of the whole Bible seven were of the last translation, three of Matthew's, two of Coverdale's, one (and, in part, another) of Taverner's. Of the editions of the New Testament two out of every three contain Tyndale's version.

The many important events of this reign do not fall

within our province. The Prayer Books issued in 1548 and 1552 contain portions of Scripture which call for a brief notice, but they will most naturally come before us at a later period, in connexion with the final revision of the Liturgy. There is, however, one version (a fragment) of the New Testament which must not be passed over. The author is no obscure divine, but the scholar who, as Milton says, "taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek." Sir John Cheke, appointed by Henry (in 1540) Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and in 1544 chosen as tutor to the young prince, was one of those scholars who laboured with the greatest zeal and success in the revival of the study of the classical languages. In one of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a translation of St. Matthew written by Cheke's own hand, probably about the year 1550. The manuscript was first printed in 1843, under the editorship of the Rev. J. Goodwin. Besides the Gospel of St. Matthew (which is complete, with the exception of about fifty verses) the translation embraces part of the first chapter of St. Mark. In the orthography, which is very peculiar, Cheke follows a system of his own. But the most remarkable feature of his work is the persistent endeavour to express all ideas by means of home-born words; we might almost suppose the translation to have been the result of a reaction against Gardiner's movement for a semi-Latin version of the Scriptures. The following extract, though short, will sufficiently show the character of this singular fragment. The peculiar orthography is preserved, but not the contractions in writing, which are numerous.

ST. MATTHEW XIV. 26—33.

And his discipils seiing him walking on the see weer troubled, saieng that it was a phantasm, and thei cried out for fear. Jesus bi and bir spaak to them and said, Be of good cheer. Jt is J, fear not. Pete

answerd vnto him. Sir, saith he, Jf it be thou, bid me comm on the water vnto the. And he said, Comm on. And Peter cam down out of the boot and walked on the waters to com to Jesus. And seing the wind strong, was aferd, and when he began to sink he cried out. Lord, saith he, save me. Jesus bi and bi stretched forth his hand, and took hold of him, and said vnto him, Thou smal faithed, whi hast thou doughted? And when thei weer ones enterd into the boot the wind ceased. Thei that weer in the boot cam and bowed down vnto him and said, Suerli thou art the sonn of god.

In a marginal note Cheke explains the meaning of *phantasm* as "that which appeared to the eies to be sumthing and is nothing in deed." Several of the notes and explanations are of interest, but the boldness of the vocabulary is the characteristic which most impresses the reader's mind. A proverb is a *biword*, apostle is a *frosent*, regeneration is *gainbirth*, the lunatic are *moond*, the demoniacs *spirited*; Matthew is said to be called while sitting at the *tolbooth*; the natural man is *soulisch*; phylacteries and borders (Matt. xxiii. 5) are *gardes* and *weltes*; the magi are *wiseards*; the last of the signs of Messiah (Matt. xi. 5) is that "the beggars be *gospeld*."

The abrupt conclusion of this interesting fragment is no inapt symbol of the fortunes of the writer and of the results of Edward's premature and sudden death. One of the first acts of Mary's reign was the prohibition of the public reading of Scripture. A second proclamation, in June, 1555, denounced the writings of the Continental reformers and of many noble Englishmen, among whom were Tyndale, Frith, Cranmer, and Coverdale. Three years later a more stringent injunction was issued, requiring that wicked and seditious books should be given up on pain of death. Though the English Bible is not expressly mentioned in these two proclamations, there can be no doubt that under their sanction many copies of the Scriptures were destroyed. Two men whose names are nobly connected with the history of the

English Bible, John Rogers and Thomas Cranmer, were committed to the flames; Coverdale narrowly escaped with his life, and went into exile. We cannot wonder that during the five years of Mary's reign no Bible or Testament was published on English ground. Still the persecution was not without its influence for good. As "the blood of the martyrs" became emphatically in England the seed of a reformed and purified Church, the policy which drove learned and good men into banishment from their country was destined to prepare the way for a more accurate and worthy representation of Scripture truth.

With the foreigners who, compelled by a royal proclamation, left England without delay, many learned Englishmen sought refuge from the troubles of their country in flight. Some betook themselves to Strasburg, some to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, some to Zurich, and other towns in Germany and Switzerland. Our concern is with a band of exiles who left Frankfort in 1555 in consequence of dissensions respecting matters of ritual, and removed to Geneva, where Calvin, who had little liking for the English Prayer Book, exercised unbounded influence. Among these exiles were John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer; Miles Coverdale; Thomas Cole, said to have been Dean of Salisbury; Christopher Goodman, at one time a divinity-professor at Oxford, author of a violent treatise against "the monstrous regiment" (government) of women, afterwards a leader of the extreme Nonconformists; John Pullain, noted for his poetical powers, a translator of Ecclesiastes, Esther, and other books of Scripture into English verse; Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, and William Whittingham. It is mainly with the three last named that we are here concerned. Gilby was a Cambridge scholar, Sampson and Whittingham were educated at Oxford. Of Gilby we know comparatively little, except that he was educated at Christ's College, Cam-

bridge; that the troubles of Frankfort drove him to Geneva; and that on the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and received the vicarage of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. He died in 1584. Sampson was Dean of Chichester in Edward's reign. On the accession of Mary he fled to Strasburg, and afterwards joined the band of exiles at Geneva. In 1561 he became Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but was shortly afterwards deprived of his office for nonconformity. William Whittingham was born near Durham in 1524; at the age of twenty-three he was made one of the senior students of Christ Church, Oxford. When Knox left Geneva, in 1559, Whittingham was ordained his successor in the pastorate of the English church. In 1560 he returned to England, and three years later was made Dean of Durham. Whittingham was one of the translators of that metrical version of the Psalms which is known by the names of Sternhold and Hopkins, the largest contributors to the collection. He died in 1579.

In 1557 a duodecimo volume was published at Geneva, entitled "The Newe Testament of ovr Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approued translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle; also diuersities of readings, and moste proffitable annotations of all harde places; wherunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva Printed by Conrad Badius. M.D. LVII."¹ The title-page also contains a curious woodcut, representing Time raising Truth out of her grave, with the motto, "God by Tyme restoreth Trvth, and maketh her victoriouvs." After the table of contents is given "The Epistle, declaring that Christ is the end of the law, by John Calvin." This is followed by an address to the reader, giving some account of the work. The writer uses the first

¹ A very convenient reprint of this Testament has been published by Messrs. Bagster.

person singular throughout, and clearly shows that the translation is from his own hand. After describing the various kinds of men in the Church of Christ, and speaking especially of the "simple lambs which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and partly wandering, through ignorance," he says, "To this kind of people in this translation I chiefly had respect, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva, that justly it may be called the pattern and mirror of true religion and godliness." To these, then, he will "render a reason" of his work. The text has been "diligently revised by the most approved Greek examples and conference of translations in other tongues, as the learned may easily judge, both by the faithful rendering of the sentence, and also by the propriety of the words and perspicuity of the phrase." For the profit of the reader the text has been "divided into verses and sections, according to the best editions in other languages." Hard Hebrew and Greek phrases he has sometimes "interpreted" by an idiomatic translation, sometimes made less obscure by adding a word; setting it, however, "in such letters as may easily be discerned from the common text." In the annotations, he says, "To my knowledge I have omitted nothing unexpounded whereby he that is anything exercised in the Scriptures of God might justly complain of hardness: and also . . . I have explicate all such places by the best learned interpreters as either were falsely expounded by some or else absurdly applied by others . . . Some time, when the place is not greatly hard, I have noted with this mark (") that which may serve to the edification of the reader. Moreover, the diverse readings, according to diverse Greek copies, which stand but in one word, may be known by this note (")

and if the books do alter in the sentence, then is it noted with this star (*), as the quotations are."

Though no name is given, we can have little doubt that the work was executed by Whittingham. This might be probable in itself on account of the position held by Whittingham among his countrymen in Geneva, and from the association of Calvin (whose sister Whittingham had married) with this translation; but, as we shall see presently, there are other indications which point to the same conclusion. Apart from the translation and the notes, which are considered below, the chief characteristics of the book are the use of Roman type (additions and explanatory words being printed in italics) and the novel arrangement of the text. Our modern verses are here seen for the first time in an English Bible. In the Old Testament the division into short verses was ready to hand in the Hebrew Bible; through Pagninus (1528) this division became familiar to readers of Latin. In the New Testament there was no precedent of the kind. From the earliest times, however, the text had been broken up into paragraphs of various lengths, and Pagninus, for the sake of uniformity, introduced into the New Testament verses similar to those now in use, but of greater length. R. Stephens, when preparing for one of his editions of the Greek Testament, resolved on an arrangement more nearly resembling that of the Old Testament. He worked out his plan on a journey from Paris to Lyons, and the Greek Testament published in 1551 in this respect resembles our present Bibles. For the Apocryphal books this work had been accomplished a few years earlier by the same hand. The complete system of verses first met the eye of English readers in the Bible of 1560, of which we have now to speak.

Three years after the publication of the Genevan Testament an edition of the whole Bible in English was published

in the same city: "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader." On this title-page, also, is a woodcut, representing the passage through the Red Sea. The book is a quarto of about 600 pages, printed (like the Testament of 1557) in Roman and italic types, and furnished with "arguments," marginal references, headings of chapters, and explanatory notes. This is the first edition of the celebrated Genevan version, of which more than 130 editions were published, and which retained its popularity with the English public for nearly a hundred years.

The book is introduced by an address: "To our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc." After pointing out that the former translations required greatly to be reformed, the translators go on to say, "Not that we vindicate anything to ourselves above the least of our brethren (for God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied herein), but being earnestly desired, and by divers, whose learning and godliness we reverence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the ready wills of such whose hearts God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefit and savour of God toward his Church (though the time then was most dangerous and the persecution sharp and furious), we submitted ourselves at length to their godly judgments, and seeing the great opportunity and occasions which God presented unto us in his Church by reason of so many godly and learned men, and such diversities of translations in divers tongues, we undertook this great and wonderful work (with all reverence, as in the

presence of God, as entreating the word of God, whereunto we think ourselves insufficient), which now God, according to his Divine providence and mercy, hath directed to a most prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almighty God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness that we have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charity."

One distinction between the former publication and the present is obvious. Whereas that was clearly from one hand, this openly professes to be the result of combined labours. Anthony à Wood tells us that Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Sampson, Cole, and Whittingham "undertook the translation of the English Bible, but before the greater part was finished, Queen Mary died. So that, the Protestant religion appearing again in England, the exiled divines left Frankfort and Geneva, and returned into England. Howbeit, Whittingham, with one or two more, being resolved to go through with the work, did tarry at Geneva a year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the crown." The "two or three" who remained with Whittingham seem to have been Gilby and Sampson. Knox, Goodman, Cole, Pullain, Bodleigh, and Coverdale returned to England in 1559. Coverdale, indeed, seems to have spent but a short time in Geneva; but it is hardly possible to believe that the veteran translator had no share in this undertaking. Whittingham, however, was in all probability foremost in the company of translators; and the prominent position which he holds in this work, together with the intimate relation between the translations of 1557 and 1560, warrants the belief that the earlier was mainly from his hand.

The relation between the "Genevan Testament" (1557) and the Testament of the "Genevan Bible" (1560) requires careful attention, as some have represented them to be practically the same version, whilst others have considered them altogether different works. It may easily be shown that the truth lies between these extremes. We will, as before, first examine a single chapter throughout, and then notice renderings of particular interest. Luke xvi. is a chapter of moderate length, and of rather more than average difficulty. The principal English versions available for the use of the exiles of Geneva were Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, and the Great Bible. In this chapter, Matthew (1551) agrees word for word with Tyndale; the Great Bible departs from Tyndale in about thirty renderings; Coverdale varies much more frequently—in ninety or a hundred places. The Genevan Testament deserts Tyndale in favour of Coverdale about twelve times only; hence it is evident that, though Coverdale's translation was used, it was not the basis of the new version. The Great Bible in this chapter introduces about seventeen new renderings, mostly of very little consequence, and in verse 21 a clause is added. The Genevan Testament adopts not more than three or four of these changes. It is clear, therefore, that it is on ~~Tyndale's~~ **the new version is founded**. From Tyndale the translator departs rather more than forty times; in thirty of these instances the rendering is new, and in eight of the thirty this new rendering obtained a place in our Authorised Version. The Genevan Bible, again, varies from the Testament of 1557 in nearly forty places; in thirty-three of these the rendering is new, and in sixteen the alteration still maintains its ground. Hence, so far as this chapter is concerned, we may say that the Testament is a careful revision of Tyndale, and that the Bible is again a careful revision of the Testament. As an example of extensive

alteration may be given the introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke :—

ST. LUKE I. 1—4.

1 For asmuch as many haue taken in hand to write the historie of those thynges, wherof we are fully certified,

2 Euen as they declared them vnto vs, which from the begynnyng saw them their selues, and were ministers at the doying (*margin*: or, of the thing):

3 It seemed good also to me (moste noble Theophilus) as sone as I had learned perfectly all thynges from the begynnyng, to wryte vnto thee therof from poynt to poynt:

4 That thou mightest acknowlage the trueth of those thinges where in thou hast bene brought vp.

In these four verses several renderings are introduced for the first time, as *write the history, whereof we are fully certified, it seemed good, learned perfectly, thereof, from point to point, most noble*. The Bible of 1560 differs in several places:—*set forth the story* (ver. 1), *persuaded* (for *certified*), *as they have delivered* (ver. 2), *ministers of the word, instructed* (ver. 4). The reader will not fail to observe that several of these renderings are found in our Authorised Version. Taking another chapter, at hazard, we find that in Matt. xviii. 8, the Testament of 1557 has “cause thee to offend” for the not very plain rendering “offend thee;” in ver. 17, “refuse to hear,” instead of “hear not;” in ver. 29, “fell down at his feet” takes the place of “fell down;” in ver. 2, where earlier versions have “child,” the Genevan have “young” or “little child.” These changes, selected from those found in a single chapter, show the care of the translator, and it is very easy to light upon examples of a similar kind. In Matt. xx. 23, the words in italics which are found in our Authorised Version are due to the Genevan Testament; in Matt. xxviii. 14, “come before the governor” is a more exact translation than “come to the governor’s ears;” in Mark xiv. 72 earlier versions have “began to

weep,” but the Genevan, more correctly, “weighing this with himself, he wept.” In James i. 17, for the older rendering, “neither is he changed into darkness,” we here read “neither shadowing by turning.” It is in the Genevan Bible that we first find the rendering of John iii. 3 which is now most familiar, “Except a man be born again.” In most of these instances we trace Beza’s hand. His influence is usually for good in points of interpretation; as a critic, however, deciding on the Greek text to be adopted in any passage, he is often rash and misleading. We owe to him the true reading in Rom. xii. 11, “serving the Lord,” where Tyndale and others have “apply yourselves to the time.” On the other hand, in Mark xvi. 2, as the ordinary Greek text signified “the sun having risen,” and so appeared to conflict with the narrative of the other Gospels, Beza adopted another reading, which was very slenderly supported, and translated the words “while the sun was rising.” Not satisfied with this, however, he hazarded a conjecture that the words “not yet” might have accidentally fallen out of the text. The Genevan translators actually insert this conjecture in their margin as an alternative translation, and in the text read “when the sun was yet rising.” In Matt. i. 11, the clauses which we now find in the margin of our Bibles were introduced into the text of the Genevan versions, again on very insufficient evidence. There are other blots of the same character, but on the whole Beza’s influence tended greatly to the improvement of the work. Mistakes were removed which had disfigured all preceding versions. Thus in Acts xxvii. 9, the earlier versions had followed Tyndale (and Erasmus) in the translation “because we had over-long fasted.” The Genevan Testament was the first to give what is now generally acknowledged to be the true translation, “because the time of the fast was now passed;” the meaning being made still clearer by the

following note, "This fast the Jews observed about the month of October, in the Feast of their expiation (Lev. 32.d¹). So that Paul thought it better to winter there, than to sail in the deep of winter which was at hand." In the 13th verse of the same chapter, Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Great Bible have the rendering "loosed unto Asson" (Assos), supposing the Greek word *asson* to be a proper name; the Genevan translation is the first to give the true meaning, "nearer."

The notes in the Genevan version have already been referred to. They are not derived from Matthew's Bible, but were prepared by the Genevan translators themselves, and prepared with much care. As may be supposed, the comments belong to the school of theology which we associate with the names of Calvin and Beza, but a very large proportion of them contain nothing to offend readers of other schools. In the Epistle to the Romans, for instance, the Genevan Testament contains about 220 explanatory notes (not including alternative renderings), the Bible of 1560 about 250, but not more than six or seven can be called "Calvinistic." The condensed commentary which the notes contain is usually good and useful, supplying historical and geographical information, clearing up obscure texts, but most frequently containing pithy observations on lessons that are taught by a narrative, or inferences which may be drawn from a text. In the Bible of 1560 most of the notes of the earlier Testament were retained, and several additions made; the commentary was also extended to the whole Bible, with the exception of the Apocryphal Books,²

¹ That is, Lev. xxxii. (a mistake for xxxiii.) 27—29. Though the text is divided into verses, the marginal references of the Genevan Testament follow the old paragraphs, marked by letters of the alphabet.

² It is sometimes stated that the Apocryphal Books are omitted in the Genevan Bible; but this is a mistake.

in which the notes are scanty. The matter of the annotations was derived from Beza, Calvin, and others. Our limits will not permit us to give many examples; the following will serve as a specimen:—

Exod. i. 19. Their disobedience herein was lawful, but their dissembling evil.

2 Chron. xv. 16. Herein he showed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died, both by the covenant, as verse 13, and by the law of God; but he gave place to foolish pity, and would also seem after a sort to satisfy the law.

Ps. xlii., title. (Alamoth), which was either a musical instrument or a solemn tune, unto the which this psalm was sung.

Ps. cxix. 25 (cleaveth unto the dust). That is, it is almost brought to the grave, and without Thy word I cannot live.

1 Sam. iii. 4. Josephus writeth that Samuel was twelve years old when the Lord appeared to him.

Matt. xx. 23. God my Father hath not given me charge to bestow offices of honour here.

John vi. 28 (the works of God). Such as be acceptable unto God. Ephes. v. 16 (Redeeming the time). Selling all worldly pleasures to buy time.

Heb. xi. 4 (by the which). Meaning *faith*.¹

Occasionally (especially in the Acts) the note contains some considerable additions to the text, similar to those so freely admitted into the Great Bible. Thus in Acts xiv. 7, we read that others add "insomuch that all the people were moved at the doctrine. So both Paul and Barnabas remained at Lystra." This reading Beza mentions in his note as contained in his own most ancient MS.—a MS. of the sixth century (*Codex Bezae*), now preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and remarkable for such additions to the ordinary text.

¹ Professor Plumptre (*Dict. of Bible*, III., 1674) notices another point of interest—that the Genevan Version (in both forms) "omits the name of St. Paul from the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and, in a short Preface, leaves the authorship an open question."

Let us now turn to the Old Testament. If in the passages which we have before taken as a test we compare the Genevan Bible with the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, and with the Great Bible, we shall find that considerable variation exists, but that the Genevan translation is nearer to the Great Bible than to any other. In Numb. xxiv. 15—24, the Genevan Bible differs from Tyndale about forty-six times, from the Great Bible about thirty-five. In Isa. xii. the variation from the Great Bible is about the same in amount, four changes in each verse; in several of these the version returns to Tyndale. In Ps. xc. the Great Bible is deserted in more than eighty instances; in two out of every three the change is an improvement, and more than fifty of the changes hold their ground in the Authorised Version. As will be seen hereafter, the Authorised Version has been very largely influenced by the Genevan Bible, which, in that part of the Old Testament not translated by Tyndale, was the most thorough and satisfactory of all the earlier versions. The rendering of some words in Gen. iii. 7, "and made themselves breeches," has given to the Genevan translation the name by which it is popularly known, the "Breeches Bible." One peculiarity strikes the reader at once, and points to a writer much followed by the translators. This is the orthography of the Hebrew proper names, which not only frequently appear in a dress novel to the English reader, but also have an accent to mark the original pronunciation. Thus we find *Iaakób*, *Izhák*, *Zidkiáh*, *Hábel*, *Rahél*, *Heuáh* (Eve). This peculiarity was derived from Pagninus, whose translation, remarkable for literal fidelity, had very great weight with the Genevan translators. Dr. Westcott examines minutely the variation of this version from the Great Bible in several portions of the Old Testament, and proves that most of the changes were made in the interests of literalness of translation; that many are traceable

to Pagninus, some to the Latin versions of Münster and Leo Juda, and to the French Bible; and that in the Apocryphal Books the Genevan version was much influenced by a French translation by Beza. The Apocryphal Books in this version require special notice. In the earlier English Bibles the translation of these books was based on the Latin, either directly or through the intervention of other versions. Thus in Tobit i., ii., iii., the narrative was given in the third person, as in the Latin Bible; in the Greek text the first person is mainly used, and accordingly we find this person in the Authorised Version. This important change of text was made by the Genevan translators. The Prayer of Manasses, given by Rogers and in the Great Bible, is here omitted.

The language of the Genevan version does not present much difficulty to the reader of the present day. Sometimes we find words which have a more modern look than those of the Authorised Version, as *excommunicate*, *amity*, *hurly-burly*, *surgeon*, *empire*; several other words are strange, or are used in a peculiar sense, as *quadrin* (Mark xii. 42), *chapman*, *improve* (reprove), *frail* (basket), *grenne* (gin), *commodity* (Rom. xiii. 16), *grieces* (Acts xxi. 40). On this subject the reader may find much interesting information in a little book entitled *English Retraced* (Cambridge, 1862).

To the great and deserved popularity of the Genevan Bible we have already referred. The times were favourable to its success. No one can forget the incident which occurred on the day of Elizabeth's coronation, when the City of London presented the young Queen with an English Bible. Elizabeth thanked the City for their "goodly gift," kissed the sacred book, and promised she would "diligently read therein." The people saw in this the symbol of the restoration of the Scriptures to their rightful place of authority; and though many expectations were disappointed, yet

from that day the English Bible has been free. In 1559 Elizabeth repeated the injunctions issued by Edward VI., that every parish should provide "one whole Bible of the largest volume in English," together with the paraphrases of Erasmus. It was ordered that inquiry should be made whether any "parsons, vicars, or curates did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible."

The expense of the publication of the Genevan Bible was borne by the English community in that city. In 1561 Bodley obtained from the Queen a patent for the exclusive printing of this version during seven years. In the same year he published an edition in folio at Geneva. In the course of Elizabeth's reign as many as seventy editions of the Genevan Bible and thirty of the New Testament, in all sizes from folio to 48mo, some in black letter and others in the ordinary character, were issued from the press. A few of these were printed abroad, but the large majority at home. In 1578 were added, by Robert F. Herry, "two right profitable and fruitful concordances, or large and ample Tables alphabetical." This two-fold Index, explanatory of difficult words and proper names, and also serving as a guide to important passages, was often bound up with the later editions, to the great advantage of the readers. In 1579 appeared the first Bible printed in Scotland, a folio volume, "printed by Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the King's Majestie."

Amongst the editions of the Genevan Testament referred to above are included those of a revision by Lawrence Tomson, first published in 1576. Tomson was secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, then Secretary of State; an inscription on a marble tablet in Chertsey Church celebrates his knowledge of twelve languages and the excellence of his character. On the very title-page of his Testament Tomson professes his obligations to, or rather dependence upon,

Beza, whose annotations he reproduces to a very considerable extent. The text, however, is not much altered, and the chief characteristic of this edition is the large extent of the commentary in the margin. This revision passed through many editions, and was not unfrequently substituted for the Testament of 1560 in issues of the Genevan Bible.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

DURING the early part of Elizabeth's reign, the English Scriptures were circulated mainly in two versions. Four editions, indeed, of Tyndale's Testament are assigned to the years 1561, 1566, 1570, but it does not appear that the Bibles of Coverdale, Taverner, or Matthew were reprinted after 1553; hence the Great Bible and the Genevan Bible, the versions associated with Archbishop Cranmer and with the Puritan exiles, were left in possession of the field. The former alone had any authority or ecclesiastical influence on its side, but the latter was the household Bible of England. For some years new editions of Cranmer's version continued to appear. Eight in all are known to have been published in this reign—together, it is said, with one New Testament of the same version, for printing which without license the printer, Richard Harrison, was fined eight shillings. One of these Bibles, printed at Rouen in 1566, at the cost of R. Carmarden, is especially noted as a fine specimen of typography.

This state of things could not continue. It could not be expected that the Genevan version (with its body of notes, which reflected the views of one particular school of theology, and which were not always guarded in expression) would receive such official sanction as to displace the Great Bible; and, on the other hand, the manifest superiority of the later translation, joined with its great popularity, made it impossible to restore Cranmer's Bible

to its former position. Matthew Parker, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in 1559, resolved on undertaking a revised translation, upon a plan similar to that which Cranmer had tried (though without success) in 1542. Letters collected in the volume of the Parker correspondence, published by the Parker Society, contain much interesting information respecting the archbishop's design. In 1566 he writes to Sir W. Cecil, stating that he has "distributed the Bible in parts to divers men," and expressing a hope that Cecil will undertake the revision of some "one epistle of St. Paul, or Peter, or James." As early as December, 1565, we find a letter from Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, acknowledging the receipt of the portion which had been assigned to him—five of the Apocryphal books. About the same time, Geste, Bishop of Rochester, writes, returning the Book of Psalms revised, and expressing a hope that the archbishop will excuse his "rude handling of the Psalms." This modest description of his work is not far from the truth. "I have not altered the translation," he says, "but where it giveth occasion of an error, as in the first Psalm, at the beginning, I turn the preterperfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too hard in the preterperfect tense. Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalm according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon diverse translations." Sandys, Bishop of Worcester (father of the poet, George Sandys), writes on the 6th of February, 1566, announcing that he has completed his portion (Kings and Chronicles); he adds a criticism on the Great Bible—that Münster had been followed too much by the translators. Davies, Bishop of St. David's, writes that he received the archbishop's letter of December 6th, 1565, towards the close of the following February, and the

"piece of the Bible" (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Samuel) a week later! He was at the same time engaged, with William Salisbury and Thomas Huatt, upon the first Welsh translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1567. A letter from Cox, Bishop of Ely, who was intrusted with the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans, shows a just appreciation of the magnitude of the task on which Parker had ventured. "I would wish," he adds, "that such usual words that we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear. Inkhorn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense, &c. ; and if ye translate *bonitas* or *miseriordia*, to use it likewise in all places of the Psalms, &c." On the 5th of October, 1568, Parker writes to Cecil, sending at the same time a copy of the completed work, to be presented to the Queen. "Because I would," he says to Cecil, "you knew all, I here send you a note to signify who first travailed in the divers books, though after them some other perusing was had; the letters of their names be partly affixed in the end of their books, which I thought a policy to shew them, to make them more diligent, as answerable for their doings. I have remembered you of such observations as my first letters sent to them (by your advice) did signify." The rules for the revisers here referred to were the following:—"First, to follow the common English translation used in the churches, and not to recede from it but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original. Item, to use sections and divisions in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Munster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues. Item, to make no bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy. Item, to

note such chapters and places as contain matter of genealogies, or other such places not edifying, with some strike or note, that the reader may eschew them in his public reading. Item, that all such words as sound in the old translation to any offence of lightness or obscenity, be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases."

It is a matter of greater difficulty to determine with exactness who were the revisers of the several books. The letter just quoted contains a list, and at the end of some books in the new Bible are initials which can be identified with more or less certainty. Unfortunately the list does not always agree with the initials; but the discrepancy may perhaps be explained by the archbishop's statement that some books passed through the hands of more than one reviser. From the list we learn that Parker himself undertook Genesis, Exodus, the first two Gospels, and the Pauline Epistles, with the exception of Romans and 1 Corinthians. Leviticus and Numbers were revised at Canterbury, probably by A. Pierson, to whom Job and Proverbs also seem to have been committed. Deuteronomy was placed in the hands of Alley, Bishop of Exeter. At the end of the Psalter are the initials T. B., supposed to indicate Thomas Bacon, a prebend of Canterbury. Ecclesiastes and Canticles fell to the lot of A. Perne, Dean of Ely. The earlier Apocryphal books were revised by Bishop Barlow; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations by Horne, Bishop of Winchester; Ezekiel and Daniel by Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; the Minor Prophets by Grindal, Bishop of London. The third and fourth Gospels seem to have been committed to Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough; 1 Corinthians to Goodman, Dean of Westminster; the General Epistles and the Book of Revelation to Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln. The remaining books have already been referred to in connexion with their respective revisers.

The above particulars are not free from doubt, but they are probably not far from the truth. It will be observed that most of the contributors were bishops, hence this version is commonly known as the Bishops' Bible. Archbishop Parker, in reserving for himself so large a proportion of the books of Scripture, some of these remarkable for their difficulty, was no doubt sure of obtaining efficient co-operation in his work. The memory of one scholar, Lawrence (possibly the Thomas Lawrence who was head-master of Shrewsbury School from 1568 to 1583), is preserved by Strype in his account of this version. Lawrence, who was famed for his knowledge of Greek, sent to the archbishop "notes of errors in the translation of the New Testament." These notes relate to nearly thirty passages of the New Testament, almost all taken from the first three Gospels. It has been generally supposed that the criticisms refer to the earlier translations, and hence Lawrence has been classed amongst the objectors whose complaints led to the scheme for a new version. Upon examination, however, it will be found that the renderings on which he comments belong, without exception, to the first edition of the Bishops' Bible itself; some, indeed, are not found in any other version at all. These criticisms belong, therefore, to a later date.

The preparation of this version appears to have extended over three or four years. The letter accompanying the splendid copy which was presented to the Queen bears date October 5, 1568. The Bible itself had no dedication. On the title-page are no other words than "The Holie Bible," with a quotation from Rom. i. 16. In the centre is a portrait of the Queen, and at the commencement of Joshua and the Psalter are introduced portraits of the Earl of Leicester, and of Cecil (Lord Burleigh). Prefixed to the book we find a sum of the whole Scripture, a table of genealogy, a table of the books of the Old Testament, with

tables of lessons and psalms, an almanac and calendar, two prologues, a chronological table, and the table of contents; woodcuts, maps, and other tables are also introduced into the volume. The second of these prologues is Cranmer's, taken from the Great Bible. The first is written by Parker himself, and mainly consists of a defence of translations of the Bible, and an earnest exhortation to all to search the Scriptures: the design and plan of the new version are also briefly explained. There is also a preface to the New Testament from the archbishop's hand. At the end of the volume is the name of the printer, John Jugge, and the last page is adorned with a woodcut representing a pelican feeding her young with her blood, and a Latin couplet on this symbol of our Saviour's love.

A second edition, in a small quarto volume, was issued in 1569; a third of the Bible and an edition of the New Testament followed in 1570, 1571. In 1571 Convocation ordered that every archbishop and bishop should have a copy of this version, "of the largest volume," in his house, "to be placed in the hall or the large dining-room, that it might be useful to their servants, or to strangers;" also that a copy should be placed in every cathedral, and, as far as possible, in every church.

The criticisms of Lawrence referred to above may have been the occasion of a new revision of the work. However this may be, it is certain that the edition published in 1572 contains a corrected translation of the New Testament, in which nearly all the improvements suggested by Lawrence are found in the text. In all, about thirty editions of this version appear to have been published, almost all of these containing the whole Bible. There are some singular differences of text and many other variations in the several editions. The edition of 1572, for example, contains two translations of the Psalter in parallel columns—one properly

belonging to the version, the other taken from the Great Bible. Other editions—those of 1575, 1595, for instance—contain only the latter version of the Psalms. Sometimes Parker's preface is omitted, so that Cranmer's stands alone, giving to a hasty reader the impression that he has before him a copy of the Great Bible. The last edition of the Bishops' Bible bears the date 1608.

As to the character of the translation very different views have been held. As the Genevan version and the Bishops' Bible represented widely different ecclesiastical opinions and sympathies, we can hardly wonder that many a critic has given a partisan's opinion instead of a sober judgment. We are, moreover, confronted by a difficulty which no earlier version has presented. The revision was intrusted to many hands; each reviser seems to have acted independently, and the superintendence exercised by the archbishop and others could not possibly render uniform the results of the separate action of many minds. The version must therefore be examined in various parts; one book cannot be taken as representing others. It need hardly be said that the basis of the translation is the Great Bible; a glance is sufficient to make this certain. The merits of the Genevan Bible are so great, that, without losing sight of the Hebrew and Greek scholarship of the revisers, or of the aids which they (in common with the Genevan translators) possessed and used, we may be content to try the Bishops' Bible in most instances by one simple test—how far have the revisers of the Great Bible availed themselves of the corrections and the improvements which are found in the Genevan version? Less could scarcely be expected than that those changes which were real improvements, and which could be adopted without sacrificing the style and spirit of the older translation, should be taken into the text.

In Numb. xxiv. 15-24 the Bishops' Bible agrees in almost every point with Cranmer's. In verse 15 we read the plural (*eyes are open*) instead of the singular; in the next verse, "falleth with open eyes" is changed into "falleth, and his eyes are opened;" and in verse 24 "Chittim" is retained in the place of the doubtful interpretation "Italy," adopted in the Great Bible. Two of these are changes for the better, but, on the other hand, five or six clear improvements introduced by the translators of the Genevan version are passed over here. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7 is a passage of considerable difficulty, and has given great trouble to translators, ancient and modern. In these seven verses the Bishops' and the Great Bible differ about eighteen times. Fifteen of the new renderings in the former version are taken from the Genevan Bible. Of the eighteen changes, thirteen may be called improvements; with one exception they are derived from the Genevan Bible, from which also come two changes which are clearly for the worse. About twelve better renderings found in the Genevan Bible are here neglected. In 1 Kings xix., which is a fair specimen of a chapter of the historical books, the Bishops' Bible can hardly be distinguished from Cranmer's. In fourteen verses of the twenty-one there is no difference whatever, and in the remaining seven the discrepancy does not average as much as two words in a verse. The chief variations are in verse 6, where we read "a cake baken on the coals" for "a loaf of broiled bread;" and in verse 15, where "that thou mayest anoint" is rightly changed into "and when thou comest there anoint." For these two corrections the reviser was indebted to the Genevan Bible; but more than twenty emendations which the same version suggested he has left unnoticed. In two difficult verses (12, 13) of Isa. xlv., in which the Genevan Bible departs from Cranmer's at least twenty times (and usually for the better), the

Bishops' Bible agrees with Cranmer's as far as the last word, which is "house" instead of "temple." In Prov. viii. 22-35, not more than six words of the Bishops' Bible differ from Cranmer's, and in Eccles. xii. not more than twelve, though in each chapter the Genevan Bible contains some useful corrections. On the other hand, in Job xix. there are few verses of the Great Bible which have not been altered in the revision. Verses 25, 26, for example, stand thus in Cranmer's Bible: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day; that I shall be clothed again with this skin, and see God in my flesh." In the Bishops' Bible of 1568 we read: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall raise up at the latter day them that lie in the dust; and though after my skin the worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh." This passage, it may be remarked, illustrates clearly the variations in the different editions of the Bishops' Bible. The folios of 1568 and 1575, for example, read as above; the quarto of 1569 and the folio of 1595 go back in all important respects to the reading of the Great Bible, the other translation of verse 26 being placed in the margin. The remarkable rendering in verse 25 is new; the changes in verse 26 are from the Genevan Bible.

The conclusion from this investigation is not very favourable to the Bishops' Bible. In the Old Testament, it is clear, Cranmer's Bible was too closely followed, and improvements which were ready to the hand of the translators were not appreciated. What is original in this version does not often possess any great merit; nor does it appear that the revision of 1572 produced much effect in the Old Testament.

When we come to consider the New Testament, it is more important to distinguish between the two editions of

the Bishops' Bible. Lawrence's criticisms, already spoken of, bring before us some thirty passages which stood in need of correction. All the renderings to which Lawrence raised objection are to be found in the first edition of the Bishops' Bible: his corrections, with the exception of one, are almost literally adopted in the revision of 1572. In two or three instances the faulty rendering is found in the Bishops' Bible alone; thus in Matt. xxi. 33 we read "*made* a vineyard," where almost all other versions rightly have "planted;" and in Col. ii. 13 we find "dead *to* sin, and *to* the uncircumcision of your flesh." The latter is so serious a mistake, both as a translation of the Greek and in the sense conveyed, that charity would require us to regard it as a misprint if the preposition "*to*" were not *repeated*. In most of the passages the renderings to which Lawrence takes exception are simply retained from the Great Bible and other early versions. Lawrence's criticisms are very interesting, and in most points unquestionably just. We owe to him several readings in our present Bibles—for example, *armies* in Matt. xxii. 7; *besides* (instead of *with*) in Matt. xxv. 20; *seize upon* in Matt. xxi. 38 (Lawrence's suggestion was, "take possession or seisin upon his inheritance"); *bramble bush* (instead of *bush* or *bushes*) in Luke vi. 44. The last words of Mark 16:7, "but he answered nothing," were introduced at his suggestion from the Greek text of Stephens (1546); this clause, however, is probably not genuine.

In judging of the merits of the translation of the New Testament, we must take the version in its corrected form, as it appeared in 1572. The verdict of the student will vary according to the portion which he is examining. Again and again he will wonder at the retention of an early rendering which had been corrected by a later translator, or the preference shown for a roundabout phrase (such render-

ings as "when he had gone a little farther he," &c., instead of "he went a little farther, and," &c., are especially common in the Bishops' Bible); but he will meet with many proofs of close study of the original text, and an earnest desire to represent it with all faithfulness to the English reader. Dr. Westcott's comment on the translation of Eph. iv. 7—16 (a very difficult section) will show how much merit is possessed by some portions, at least, of the Bishops' Bible. Having pointed out that in this section the Great Bible and the Bishops' differ in twenty-six places, he adds: "Of these twenty-six variations no less than sixteen are new, while only ten are due to the Genevan version, and the character of the original corrections marks a very close and thoughtful revision, based faithfully upon the Greek. The anxiously literal rendering of the particles and prepositions is specially worthy of notice; so too the observance of the order and of the original form of the sentences, even where some obscurity follows from it. In four places the Authorised Version follows the Bishops' renderings; and only one change appears to be certainly for the worse, in which the rendering of the Genevan Testament has been followed. The singular independence of the revision, as compared with those which have been noticed before, is shown by the fact that only four of the new changes agree with Beza, and at least nine are definitely against him." The same writer compares the two chief editions of the Bishops' Bible throughout the Epistle to the Ephesians. The changes amount to nearly fifty, and among the new readings are some phrases most familiar to us all, as "*less than the least* of all saints," "*middle wall* of partition," "*fellow-citizens* with the saints."

The marginal notes in the Bishops' Bible consist of alternative renderings, references to similar passages, and comments explanatory of the text. The comments are

much less numerous here than in the Genevan Bible. They are very unevenly distributed. On the first five chapters of Job, for example, there are (in the edition of 1575) more than fifty notes, a larger number than we find on the whole book of Isaiah, with its sixty-six chapters. The Epistle to the Romans contains nearly seventy explanatory notes, in the place of the 250 of the Genevan Bible: a few, perhaps a dozen, of the Genevan annotations are retained in the Bishops' Bible. It is curious to notice the difference in the passages chosen for explanation in the two versions. Sometimes it is a rendering of the Genevan Bible that calls forth the remark in this. Thus in Rom. viii. 6 the Genevan translators read "the wisdom of the flesh." The note in the Bishops' Bible is as follows: "*φρονούσι* and *φρόνημα*, Greek words, do not so much signify wisdom and prudence as affection, carefulness, and minding of anything." A little lower down there is a curious note on another Greek word. In verse 18, where we now read "I reckon," the Bishops' Bible has "I am certainly persuaded." The note runs thus: "*λογίζομαι* signifieth to weigh or to consider; but because the matter was certain, and St. Paul nothing doubted thereof, it is thus made: I am persuaded." Where an uncommon word is used in the text, the translator sometimes adds a short note on its meaning. Thus in Rom. xi. 8, where we now read "the spirit of slumber," this version has "the spirit of remorse," the last word being explained as "pricking and unquietness of conscience." In Isa. lxvi. 3 we read, "he that killeth a sheep for me *knatcheth* a dog," with a note which certainly cannot be considered superfluous: "That is, cutteth off a dog's neck."

The general tendency and character of the Bishops' Bible are perhaps shown most clearly in the Apocryphal books. Strange to say, the Great Bible is followed here also, though representing the Latin and not the Greek text.

The precedent of the Genevan Bible, therefore, is entirely neglected, as a glance at the beginning of Tobit, or Esther, or at the fourth chapter of Judith, is sufficient to prove. As in the Genevan version, however, the comments on the Apocrypha are very scanty. The Prayer of Manasses is restored to its former position between the additions to Daniel and the First Book of Maccabees.

Copies of the two chief editions of the Bishops' Bible will be found in many libraries, as, for instance, those of the British Museum and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The inferior editions are frequently to be met with.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RHEIMS AND DOUAI BIBLE.

HITHERTO our history has mainly recorded the efforts made by earnest reformers of the Church to diffuse throughout England the knowledge of the Scriptures. The opposition to these endeavours has proceeded from the Church of Rome, and has at times been as successful as it has been intense. Fifty years have not elapsed since the time when Tyndale's Testaments were burned at St. Paul's Cross, and now an English version of the New Testament is offered to the Romanists themselves, with the sanction of an authority which none could dispute. This version bears the following title: "The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfvly into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages: with argvmets of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the Corrvptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the Controversies in religion of these daies. In the English College of Rhemes. Psalm 118.¹ . . . That is, Giue me vnderstanding and I will searche thy law, and will keepe it with my whole hart. S. Aug. tract 2, in Epist. Ioan. . . . that is, Al things that are readde in holy Scriptures, we must heare with great attention, to our instruction and saluation:

¹ This verse and the quotation from Augustine which follows are given in both Latin and English.

but those things specially must be commended to memorie, which make most against Heretikes: whose deceites cease not to circumuent and beguile al the weaker sort and the more negligent persons. Printed at Rhemes by Iohn Fogny. 1582. Cum privilegio."

The translation of the Old Testament was not published until 1609, 1610, though finished long before. The title is similar to that of the New Testament, "Doway," however, being substituted for Rheims; the text on the title-page is Isaiah xii. 3, "You shall draw waters in joy out of the Saviour's fountains." The work was printed at Doway by Lawrence Kellam at the "sign of the Holy Lamb."

The Romish College at Douai was one of the "English Colleges beyond the seas," founded with the object of organising missionary work in England. William Allen, through whose efforts the college was founded, was a man of learning and of untiring energy. In Mary's reign he was Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and Canon of York; soon after the accession of Elizabeth he left England, and for a quarter of a century was the mainspring of the movement for the restoration of England to communion with Rome. He was made Cardinal by Sixtus V., in 1587. In consequence of the disturbed condition of the country the college was (in 1578) removed to Rheims for a time. One of the early students at Douai was Gregory Martin, formerly fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, who afterwards became teacher of Hebrew and reader of divinity in the College at Rheims. It is probable that the "Rhemish Testament" and the "Douay Bible" owe their origin to Allen, but that the translation was mainly executed by Martin. Besides Allen, three other English scholars, graduates of Oxford, are said to have been associated with Martin in the work—Dr. J. Reynolds, Dr. Briston, or Bristol, and Dr. Worthington.

The last two are supposed to have contributed the notes, which are an essential part of this version.

The preface to the Rhemish Testament is an elaborate and ingenious document. The translators are at no pains to conceal that their motive in undertaking the work was the extensive circulation of other versions of the Scriptures. Not content with translating truly, they "have also set forth large Annotations" to help the studious reader embarrassed by the controversies of the times. The text which they follow is not the Greek, but the "old vulgar Latin" used in the Church for 1,300 years, corrected by St. Jerome according to the Greek, commended by St. Augustine, declared by the holy Council of Trent to be of all versions the only "authentic," preferred even by adversaries such as Beza, so exact in representing the Greek that "delicate heretics" have pronounced it rude, shown to be impartial by the fact that even the versions of Erasmus and others are more to the advantage of the Catholic cause than this ancient Bible of the Church. The Latin (they say) is found to agree either with other manuscripts of the Greek or with the reading of ancient Fathers of the Church. Whilst, however, the translation is from the Latin, the Greek text is not to be disregarded: the reader will often find the Greek word (also the Latin word) placed in the margin when the sense is hard or the reading ambiguous. The peculiarities of this version, therefore, result partly from the use of the Vulgate as a basis, and partly from the principles by which the translators were guided in their work.

We must keep in mind that the Vulgate is really not one book, but a combination of several. The Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalter, is a translation from the Hebrew, executed by Jerome about the end of the fourth century. The Psalter is a revision (by Jerome) of a much older translation, made not from the Hebrew, but

from the Septuagint. The Apocryphal Books also mainly belong to the same early version, revised and corrected in part. The Old Latin version of the New Testament probably dates from the beginning of the second century; the New Testament of the Vulgate consists of this older translation, revised with care in the Gospels, but imperfectly in the Epistles. In the Psalms, therefore, a translation from the Vulgate presents the original at fourth hand, so to speak, the Hebrew having passed into a Greek version (often of very inferior quality), the Greek into a Latin, before the translation into English commenced. On the other hand, Jerome's own work is of great excellence. We may expect, therefore, that any correct reproduction of the Vulgate in English will be very faulty and imperfect in the Book of Psalms, but usually good and true in the greater part of the Old Testament. In the New Testament the case is more complicated. The Latin translation, being derived from manuscripts more ancient than any we now possess, is frequently a witness of the highest value in regard to the Greek text which was current in the earliest times, and (as was remarked in an earlier chapter) its testimony is in many cases confirmed by Greek manuscripts which have been discovered or examined since the sixteenth century. Hence we may expect to find that the Rhemish New Testament frequently anticipates the judgment of later scholars as to the presence or absence of certain words, clauses, or even verses. Thus in Acts xvi. 7, there is now overwhelming evidence for reading "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not;" in Matt. v. 44, the words "bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you," and the words "which despitefully use you and," should be omitted from the text, having found their way into later manuscripts from St. Luke's Gospel; and in 1 Peter iii. 15 we must read "Lord Christ" instead of "Lord God." In these and many other instances

the Rhemish Testament agrees with the best critical editions of the present day. There are, no doubt, many examples of a different kind, such as the reading "*by good works* make your calling and election sure" (2 Peter i. 10); but on the whole, the influence of the use of the Vulgate would in the New Testament be more frequently for good than for harm in respect of *text*. As a translation the Vulgate is, as a rule, literal and faithful, but often obscure; a correct reproduction of the Vulgate will reflect these qualities, and this the Rhemish Testament certainly does. If, however, we allow that this version faithfully represents the Latin, it must be understood that it is the Latin as current in the time of the translators. Even then it was acknowledged that the common copies of the Vulgate differed widely from Jerome's text, and the need of a new examination of manuscripts was felt as early as the Council of Trent. It was not until 1587 and 1592 that the authorised editions of the Vulgate appeared, and these were very far from supplying the want.

We come now to the consideration of the principles of action adopted by the translators. Having the Latin text before them, how did they deal with it? The answer may be given in few words: the translation is literal and (as a rule, if not always) scrupulously faithful and exact, but disfigured by a profusion of unfamiliar and Latinised words, which convey no meaning whatever to the ordinary English reader. The last peculiarity strikes the eye at the first opening of the volume. The translators argue skilfully in defence of their practice. If (they ask) such words as *Raca*, *Hosanna*, and *Belial* be retained, why not *Corbana* (for treasury, Matt. xxvii. 6)? If *Sabbath* is kept for the seventh day, why not *Parasceue* for the Sabbath-eve? If *Pentecost* is a proper word, what objection is there to *Pascha* for Passover, *Azymes* for sweet (*i.e.*, unleavened) bread, bread of proposition for shew-bread? If

proselyte and phylacteries be allowed, why not neophyte and didragmes? It is not possible, they maintain, to avoid the word *evangelise*, for no word can convey its meaning; and for the same reason they use "depositum" in 1 Tim. vi. 20; "He exinanited himself" in Phil. ii. 7; "to exhaust the sins of many" in Heb. ix. 28. A table containing the explanation of fifty-eight words is given at the end of the book. Some of these words are now familiar to all: *acquisition*, *victim*, *prescience*, *gratis*, *allegory*, *adulterate*, *advent*, *resuscitate*, *co-operate*; others, as *commensation*, *contristate*, *prefinition*, are strangers still. Others are still in use, but not in the sense here assigned. Thus *calumniate* does not now denote "violent oppression by word or deed," nor is *prevarication* equivalent to "transgression," nor is *issue* limited to a "good event." But this list does not by any means do justice to the peculiar vocabulary of the Rhemish translators, as the following quotations will prove: "He will shew you a great refectory adorned" (Luke xxii. 12); "I will not drink of the generation of the vine" (ver. 18); "sleeping for pensiveness" (ver. 45); "transfer this chalice" (ver. 42); "averting the people" (xxiii. 14); "adjudged their petition to be done" (ver. 24); "wrapped it in sindon" (ver. 53); "society of his passions" (Phil. iii. 10). To say nothing of words now well known (as *altercation*, *fallacy*, *primacy*, *demureness*, *contumelious*), we find many other Latin words disguised, or hardly disguised, such as *odible*, *coinquination*, *acception*, *correction*, *exprobrate*, *potestates*, *longanimity*, *obsecration*, *scenopogia*. The translation of some verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians will illustrate at once the Latinised diction and the excessive literalness of this version: "To me the least of al the saintes is giuen this grace, among the Gentils to euangelize the vnsearcheable riches of Christ, and to illuminate al men what is the dispensation of the

sacrament hidden from worlds in God, who created al things: that the manifold wisdom of God may be notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the Church, according to the prefinition of worlds, which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord;" "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood: but against Princes and Potestats, against the rectors of the world of this darkenes, against the spirituals of wickednes in the celestials."

On the other hand, the translator's care strictly to follow the text before him often led to happy results, the preservation of a significant phrase of the original, or of an impressive arrangement of words. Thus every translator would now agree with this version in the words, "liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom. viii. 21); "holiness of the truth" (Eph. iv. 24); "by their fruits you shall know them" (Matt. vii. 16). If we turn to any chapter of the Gospels we shall find examples of excellent translation, which in some cases have been followed by our Authorised Version. In Matt. xxv., for example, the translation in ver. 8, "our lamps are going out," is unquestionably correct; in verses 17, 18, 20, 22, the article should certainly be inserted, *the five*, *the two*; in verse 21, "place thee" is much better than "make thee ruler;" and in verse 27, "bankers," if a somewhat bold rendering, is more intelligible than "exchangers." It is from the Rhemish Testament that the Authorised Version obtains "blessed" in Matt. xxvi. 26 (for "gave thanks"); "hymn" in verse 30; "adjure" in verse 63; and it would have been well if our translators had also adopted "court" in verse 3, and "Rabbi" in verses 25 and 49. In the first chapter of St. James we owe to the Rhemish version "upbraideth not" (verse 5), "nothing doubting" (verse 6), "the engrafted word" (verse 21), "bridleth not" (verse 26). If three chapters, taken by

accident, yield such results, the reader will not doubt that very many examples of the same description might be produced. Nothing is easier than to accumulate instances of the eccentricity of this version, of its obscure and inflated renderings; but only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work. Every other English version is to be preferred to this, if it must be taken as a whole; no other English version will prove more instructive to the student who will take the pains to separate what is good and useful from what is ill-advised and wrong.

The marginal notes which are added by the translators from time to time prove that they kept the Greek text before them, though translating from the Latin. Sometimes this saves them from mistake, as in Phil. iv. 6, where the Latin might mean "in all prayer," but the Greek must signify "in everything by prayer." The most remarkable proof of their use of the Greek is their treatment of the Greek article. As the Latin language has no definite article, it might well be supposed that of all English versions the Rhemish would be least accurate in this point of translation. The very reverse is actually the case. There are many instances (a comparatively hasty search has discovered more than forty) in which, of all versions, from Tyndale's to the Authorised inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article. This is the more remarkable, as the older versions were certainly known and used by the translators of the Rhemish Testament. They make no allusion in their preface to any indebtedness to preceding translators, but of the fact there can be no doubt. The comparison of any chapter with the translations in the Genevan and Bishop's Bibles will be sufficient to convince the most incredulous.

It is not necessary to say much on those peculiarities

of this Testament which stand connected with the faith professed by the translators. In a Roman Catholic version we expect such renderings as *do penance, priest* (for *elder*), *sacrament* (for *mystery* or *secret*); "Catholic usage" has also led to the substitution of "our Lord" for "the Lord." There is but little, however, in the text to favour Romish doctrine: it is in the notes that this is strenuously and perseveringly taught. With these, differing widely from the translation in their spirit and characteristics, we are happily not concerned in this place. Elaborate confutations of the teaching of these notes were published within a few years, by W. Fulke in 1589, and T. Cartwright in 1618. In the former work the Rhemish Version and that of the Bishops' Bible are given in parallel columns. Neither of these writers appears to criticise the translation to any large extent.

On the Douai Version of the Old Testament it will not be necessary to dwell. As it was not published until 1610, it does not belong (so to speak) to the line of ancestry of our Authorised Version.

Editions of the New Testament appeared in 1600, 1621, 1633, and of the whole Bible in 1635. In 1749, 1750, the work was revised by Dr. Challoner; another revised edition, by Dr. Troy, bears date 1791. The later editions differ widely from the original version; an interesting paper on the variations will be found among the collected Essays of the late Cardinal Wiseman.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

WHEN James I. succeeded to the throne in March, 1603, he found the southern part of his dominions in a state of great uneasiness and disquiet in consequence of the differences between the Puritan party and their opponents in the Church of England. One of the first events in his reign was the presentation of the celebrated "Millenary Petition," subscribed by some hundreds of Puritans, praying for alterations in the Church service, and for greater strictness in ecclesiastical discipline. The king, by no means unwilling to play the part of moderator, resolved to convoke an assembly, in which the discordant opinions of the rival parties might be stated, and be submitted to free discussion. Thus originated the famous Hampton Court Conference, held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of January, 1604. We are not here concerned with the petitions and arguments which mainly occupied the hours of debate; our present interest is in a question which was altogether subordinate at the time, but which the event proved to be the most important and the most fruitful of all the questions raised. At this conference the Puritans were represented by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Dr. Sparke, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton; the opposite party by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, Bishop of London, seven other bishops, and five deans. An account of the sum and substance of the conference, written by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, is our chief authority for the proceedings of this assembly.

In the course of the second day, Dr. Reynolds "moved his Majesty that there might be a new translation of the Bible, because those which were allowed in the reign of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the original. For example, first, Gal. iv. 25, the Greek word *συστοιχῆι* is not well translated, as now it is; *bordereth* neither expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostle's sense, nor the situation of the place. Secondly, Ps. cv. 28, 'They were not obedient,' the original being, 'They were not disobedient.' Thirdly, Ps. cvi. 30, 'Then stood up Phinees and prayed;' the Hebrew hath 'executed judgment.' To which motion there was, at the present, no gainsaying, the objections being trivial and old, and already in print, often answered; only my lord of London well added, that if every man's humour should be followed, there would be no end of translating. Whereupon his Highness wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be), and this to be done by the best learned in both the universities; after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the privy council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority. And so this whole church to be bound unto it and none other. Marry, withal, he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my lord of London), that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation (which he saw in a book given him by an English lady) some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits. As, for example, the first chapter of Exodus, and the nineteenth verse, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto kings; and 2 Chron. xv. 16,

the note taxeth Asa for ~~deposing~~ deposing his mother only, and not killing her."

It is not necessary to defend the Genevan Bible against the royal critic. On the real excellence of the translation enough has been said already, and the two notes quoted as dangerous do not need any apology. The narrative well illustrates the conflicting views of two parties, for the quotations given by Dr. Reynolds are from the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, and in each case the rendering is corrected in the Genevan Version. On the one side, therefore, the Genevan Bible is the standard by which the translations are tried; on the other, the faults and the dangerous teaching of this same version are taken as the ground for a new translation.

It is not improbable that the scheme would have fallen to the ground, had it not harmonised so completely with the king's turn of mind and favourite pursuits. When Convocation met, shortly after the conference, not a word appears to have been said on the subject. A letter from the king to Bancroft, dated July 22nd, 1604, gives us our earliest information, but by this time the plans for the execution of the work seem to have been completely arranged. The king announces that he has chosen (chiefly, we may suppose, on the nomination of the universities) fifty-four translators, to meet in various companies at Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge, under the presidency of the Dean of Westminster and the two Hebrew Professors. Bancroft is required to take steps, in conjunction with the other bishops, for providing the translators with church preferment in recompense for their labours, and also for procuring from learned men throughout the kingdom criticisms on the earlier translations, and suggestions on difficult passages. Other letters like this bear testimony to the king's earnestness in the prosecution of the work. It is therefore not a little surprising

to find that three years passed away before the companies entered on their labours. The difficulty in providing funds to meet necessary expenses, the death of Lively, the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and probably of others who had been selected as translators, were, no doubt, amongst the obstacles which retarded the work.

The letter in which the king refers to the fifty-four translators contains no list of names, and no information from other sources enables us to ascertain with exactness on whom the choice had fallen. The lists we possess specify no more than forty-seven. Whether the discrepancy arises from the changes in the composition of the companies which took place (through death or other causes) between 1604 and the completion of the work in 1611, or whether the list of fifty-four included bishops or other scholars, intrusted, not with translation, but with the revision of the work of the six companies, it is impossible to say.

When we inquire more particularly into the details of the plan, other difficulties present themselves, which cannot now be cleared up. The following account, however, derived from the best authorities, may be relied on as generally correct.

To the first company, which met at Westminster, were assigned the books of the Old Testament, as far as 2 Kings. At the head of this company was Dr. Launcelot Andrews, celebrated equally for piety and for learning, then (1604) Dean of Westminster, afterwards, in succession, Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. His coadjutors were Dr. J. Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, and Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Dr. A. de Saravia (the friend of Hooker), a noted linguist; Dr. R. Clark, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Dr. J. Layfield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, said to have been "skilled in architecture;" Dr. R. Teigh, called by

Wood "an excellent textuary, and a profound linguist;" F. Burleigh; G. King, afterwards Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; R. Thomson, known as "Dutch Thomson" (from the land of his birth), said to have been "an admirable philologist;" and the celebrated William Bedwell, "the principal Arabic scholar of his time."

To the first Cambridge Company were intrusted the books from 2 Chronicles to Ecclesiastes. This band consisted of eight divines: Edward Lively, an eminent Oriental scholar, Professor of Hebrew in the University from 1580 to his death, in 1605; Dr. Richardson, afterwards Master of Trinity College; Dr. Laurence Chaderton (already spoken of in connexion with the Hampton Court Conference), the first Master of Emmanuel College, in which is preserved a Hebrew Bible with his annotations, attesting his Rabbinical learning; F. Dellingham, Fellow of Christ's College; T. Harrison, Vice-Master of Trinity College, noted for his excellent knowledge of Hebrew and Greek; R. Andrews (brother of the Bishop), afterwards Master of Jesus College; R. Spalding, Lively's successor as Professor of Hebrew; A. Byng, who succeeded King in the same office. John Boys, mentioned below, afterwards joined this company.

The third company met at Oxford, and had the honourable task of translating the prophetic books from Isaiah to Malachi. At its head was Dr. J. Harding, President of Magdalen College and Professor of Hebrew. With him were associated Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, a man of remarkable learning, by whose early death (in 1607) the work which he was the first to suggest suffered great loss; Dr. T. Holland, Rector of Exeter College, formerly Professor of Divinity; Dr. R. Kilbye, Rector of Lincoln College, afterwards Professor of Hebrew; Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, renowned for his familiar knowledge of Hebrew, Syriac, and cognate

languages; Dr. R. Brett, also noted for Oriental learning; and R. Fairclough, Fellow of New College.

The Apocryphal books were translated by a fourth company, meeting at Cambridge. This company numbered seven scholars: Dr. J. Duport, Master of Jesus College; Dr. W. Braithwaite, Deputy Margaret Professor of Divinity, afterwards Master of Caius College; Dr. J. Radcliffe, Fellow of Trinity College; Dr. T. Ward, afterwards Master of Sidney Sussex College, and Margaret Professor; A. Downs, for nearly forty years Professor of Greek, and one of the best scholars of his age; John Boys, distinguished alike for Greek and Hebrew; and Mr. Ward, Fellow of King's College.

The four Gospels, and the Acts, and the Book of Revelation, were placed in the hands of eight Oxford scholars: Dr. T. Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; Dr. G. Abbot, for some time Master of University College, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1610 to 1633; Dr. G. Thompson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; Mr. Savile, afterwards Sir H. Savile, tutor in Greek to Queen Elizabeth, Provost of Eton, celebrated also for his splendid edition of Chrysostom, and for his noble benefactions to his university; Dr. J. Perin, and Dr. J. Harmer, at different times Professors of Greek. Of the remaining names some lists specify Dr. Eedes, Dean of Worcester, who died in 1604, and Dr. Ravens: others, Dr. Aglionby, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall; Dr. Montague, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. L. Hutton, Canon of Christchurch, "an excellent Grecian, and well read in the Fathers and Schoolmen."

Of the remaining company, which translated the Epistles, we know but little. Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, has been already mentioned; W. Dakins was Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Greek

Lecturer; Dr. T. Spencer is supposed to be the successor of Dr. Reynolds in the Presidency of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Of Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Rabbett, and Mr. Sanderson, nothing is known. This company also met at Westminster.

The duties of the revisers, and the plan of the new work, were defined in the following body of instructions supplied to each company:—

“1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops’ Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will admit.

“2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

“3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz., the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c.

“4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith.

“5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

“6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

“7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

“8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

“9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his Majesty is very careful in this point.

“10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof, note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

“11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment of such a place.

“12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

“13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the king’s professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

“14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops’ Bible: Tindale’s, Matthew’s, Coverdale’s, Whitchurch’s, Geneva.

“15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor upon conference with the rest of the Heads to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified.”

When each company had completed the allotted task, the several parts were collected for revision. The ninth rule

prescribed that every book should be submitted to the judgment of all the companies; but even had it been possible to carry such a rule into effect, yet much would afterwards remain to be done in the way of arrangement and the harmonising of details. Six of the translators—twelve, according to another account—one (or two) out of each company, met together at the close to review the work. Boys and Downs, of the Cambridge company, “were sent for up to London, where, meeting their four fellow-labourers, they went daily to Stationers’ Hall, and in three-quarters of a year fulfilled their task. All which time they received duly thirty shillings each of them, by the week, from the Company of Stationers;¹ though before they had nothing.” Who the “four fellow-labourers” were, we have no means of ascertaining. Bishop Bilson, though not one of the translators, is said to have been connected with the final revision, and the account which is given us of Bancroft’s influence on the translation has led some to add his name also. The reader may be surprised to find that so much of the history is involved in obscurity. “Never,” says a writer who is our highest authority on the translation of 1611,² “was a great enterprise like the production of our Authorised Version carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working.” The only account which we possess of the procedure of the translators is to be found in Selden’s *Table Talk*: it appears to relate to the last revision. “The translation in King James’ time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs), and then

¹ Mr. Anderson makes it very probable that the money was furnished by the printer, R. Barker.

² Dr. Scrivener, *Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, p. 12.

they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c.: if they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on.”

In 1611, seven years after the Hampton Court Conference, the new translation was given to the world. The title-page of the volume (a folio printed in black-letter by R. Barker), contains the statements with which we are all familiar, and the Dedication which follows is equally well known. It is otherwise with the Translators’ Preface, which is not to be found in modern Bibles. This is a document of considerable length (equal to about thirty of these pages), written by Dr. Miles Smith, in which the translators justify the demand for a new translation of the Scriptures, and explain the principles which have guided their own action. We have not space for quotations, but must content ourselves with urging our readers to make themselves acquainted with this learned and very interesting document.¹ Besides a Calendar, Table of Lessons, and other matter, belonging rather to the Prayer-book than to the Bible, there are given elaborate Tables of Genealogies, drawn up by John Speed, the celebrated historian. The Table of the Books of Scripture agrees in almost all respects with that contained in our present Bibles.

The statements on the title-page are of importance. What we are to understand by the notice that the version is “appointed to be read in churches,” it is hard to say. “No evidence has yet been produced to show that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king. It gained its currency, partly, it may have been, by the weight

¹ A reprint of this Preface (price *one penny*) is issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars who had been engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals. Copies of the 'whole Bible of the largest volume and latest edition' are required to be in churches by the Visitation Articles of Laud, 1622 (St. David's), 1628 (London). In the Scotch Canons of 1636 it is said still more distinctly that 'the Bible shall be of the translation of King James' (cap. 16, § 1). . . . The printing of the Bishops' Bible was at once stayed when the new version was definitely undertaken. No edition is given in the lists later than 1606, though the New Testament from it was reprinted as late as 1618 (or 1619). So far ecclesiastical influence naturally reached. But it was otherwise with the Genevan Version, which was chiefly confined to private use. This competed with the King's Bible for many years, and it was not till about the middle of the century that it was finally displaced."¹

On the other question, the relation between the Authorised Version (so called) and earlier translations, the reader shall judge for himself. On pages 202—205 are given two passages, from the Old Testament and the New, respectively, as they appear in the most important of our English versions. An examination of these specimens will show how far the translators of 1611 were indebted to their predecessors.

In that part of the Old Testament from which our specimen is taken the true line of succession begins with Coverdale's Bible. The three versions which precede (those of Wycliffe, Purvey, and the Douai Bible), all derived from the Latin Vulgate, can have exercised but little influence on our present translation. The Douai Old Testament, it will be remembered, was not published until 1610.

¹ Westcott, *History*, p. 123.

In the New Testament, on the other hand, the eight versions are connected together by strict relationship. It will be observed that Tyndale's work really occupies two columns, the first of these containing his earliest translation (1526), the third his last revision, which was incorporated in the Bible of "Thomas Matthew." The quotations are made from the earliest editions of Coverdale's Bible, the Rhemish Testament, and the Authorised Version; from the second edition of Matthew's Bible, and of the Douai Version; from the Great Bible of May, 1541, the Genevan Bible of 1578, and the Bishops' Bible of 1575. The versions not given are of secondary importance. Taverner does not materially differ from Tyndale and Coverdale; the Genevan Bible usually contains the improvements introduced into the Testament of 1557; and Tomson's revision can hardly be regarded as a distinct work.

The passage from the Old Testament (Isa. liv. 11—17) is one which most will confess to be well translated in our ordinary Bibles. One or two points of interpretation are still undecided, but there are, perhaps, not a dozen words in the seven verses which an exact translator would now find it necessary to change. What light, then, does the comparison of versions cast upon this result? The passage contains 182 words, of which about 86 have remained unchanged during all the fluctuations represented by the five (or six) versions given above. If we set these aside, and consider only the variable element, consisting of 96 words, we shall find on comparison that in more than 60 of the 96 the Authorised Version agrees with the Genevan Bible, whereas its agreement with the Bishops' Bible does not extend to more than twelve out of the same number. Hence, though the Bishops' Bible nominally furnished the basis for the new translation, it is clear that the Genevan exercised a much more powerful influence. Indeed, a

WYCLIFFE.	PURVEY.	DOUAI BIBLE.	COVERDALE. (MATTHEW.)
ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Thou porelet, with tenn- pest al to-pulid, with oute any comfourt, lo! I shal arate thy order thy stones and founde thee in safires; I shal sette jasp thy pyncles and thy gates in to grauen stones, and alle thy termes in to desirabe stones.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Thou litle and pore, drawyn out bi tempest, with outen any comfourt, lo! Y schal strewe thy stones bi ordre, and Y schal founde thee in safiris; 12 And Y schal sette jaspis thi tours and thy gates in to graun stoonys, and alle thin cendis in to desirabe stoonys.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Poore litle one shaken with tempest without al comfort, be- hold I will lay thy stones in order and wil found thee in sapphires.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Behold, thou poore, vexed and despihed, I will make thy walles of precious stones and thy foundation of Saphires,
13 Alle thi sones tagt of the Lord, and multitude of pes to thi sones, 14 And in rigtwisnesse thou shalt be foundid. Go awei aftir fro challenge, for thou shalt not drede, and fro inward ferd, for it shal not neghe to thee.	13 Y schal make alle thi sones taugt of the Lord; and the mul- titude of pes to thi sones, 14 And thou shalt be foundid in rigtwisnesse. Go thou awei fer fro fals calling, for thou shalt not drede; and fro drede, for it schal not neghe to thee.	13 Al thy children taught of our Lord; and a multitude of peace to thy children.	13 Thy children shal all be taught of God, and I will geue them plenteuousnes of peace.
15 Lo! an earth tilere shal come, that was not with me; thi comeling suntime apassid shal be loyned to thee.	15 Lo, a stranger schal come, that was not with me; he that was sun tyme thi comelyng schal be loyned to thee.	15 Behold, the borderer shal come, which was not with me, thy stranger sometime shal be loyned to thee.	14 In righteousness shalt thou be grounded, and be farre from oppression; for the which thou needest not be afayde, neither for hynderaunce, for it shal not come nye thee.
16 Lo! I shop a smyth blow- ende in the fyr coles, and bring- ende forth a vessel in to his werk; and I snop the sleere to destroyen.	16 Lo! Y made a smyth blow- yng coles in fier, and bringyng forth a vessel in to his werk; and Y haue maad a sleere, for to leese.	16 Behold I have created the smith that bloweth the coles in the fire, and bringeth forth a vessel for his worke and I created the killer to destroy.	15 Beholde I make the smyth that bloweth the coles in the fyre & he maketh a weapon after his hondy worke.
17 Eche vessel that is maad agen thee, shal not be rigt reulid; and eche tunge withoutende to thee, in dom thou shalt deme. This is the ertage of the ser- uants of the Lord, and the rigt- wisnesse of hem anent me, seith the Lord.	17 Eche vessel which is maad agens thee, schal not be dressed; and in the dom thou shalt deme eche tunge agensgyrdyng thee. This is the ertage of the ser- uants of the Lord, and the right- wisnesse of hem at me, seith the Lord.	17 Euerie vessel that is made agaynst thee shal not prosper and euerie tongue resisting thee in judgement thou shalt judge. This is the inheritance of the seruants of our Lord, and their justice with me sayth our Lord.	16 But all the weapons that are made agaynst the shal not pros- pere. And as for all tinges that shal resyst the in judgement thou shalt ouercome them & condempne them. This is the heretage of the Lordes seruantes, and the rightuousnesse of me, seith the Lord.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVEAN BIBLE.	BISHOPS' BIBLE.	AUTHORSIED VERSION.
ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Beholde the poore ouer- whelmed with tempest and with- out conforte, I will make thy walles of precyous stones and thy foundacyon of Saphires.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 O thou afflicted and tossed with tempest that hast no comfort, behold, I will lay thy stones with the carbuncles, and laye thy foun- dation of Saphires.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Beholde, thou poore vexed and despihed, I will make thy walles of pretyous stones and thy foundation of Saphires.	ISAIAH liv. 11.—17. 11 Oh thou afflicted, tossed with tempest and not comforted, behold I will lay thy stones with faire colours and lay thy founda- tion with Saphires.
12 Thy wyndowes of Chrystal, thy gates of fyne cleare stones and all thy borders of pleasant stones.	12 And I will make thy win- dowes of emeraudes and thy gates shining stones, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.	12 Thy windowes of Chistall, thy gates of fyne cleare stone, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.	And I will make thy win- dowes of Agates, and thy gates of Carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.
13 Thy chyldren shal all be taught of god, and I will geue them plenteuousnes of peace.	13 And all thy children shal be taught of the Lord, and much peace shall be to thy children.	13 Thy children shal be all taught of God, and I will geue thee plenteuousnes of peace.	13 And all thy children shalbe taught of the Lord, and great shalbe the peace of thy children.
14 In righteousness shalt thou be grounded & be farre from oppression for the whiche thou needest not be afayde, neither for hynderaunce for it shall not come nye thee.	14 In righteousness shalt thou be established and be farre from oppression; for thou shalt not fear it; and from feare, for it shall not come neere thee.	14 In righteousness shalt thou be grounded and bee farre from oppression for the which thou needest not to be afayde, neither for hynderaunce, for it shall not come nigh thee.	14 In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be from oppression, for thou shalt not feare; and from terror, for it shall not come neere thee.
15 Beholde, the aleunt that was farre from me shal dwell with the, and he that loyneth batayle agaynst the shal perysh.	15 Beholde the enemye shall gather himselfe, but without me: whosoever shall gather himselfe in thee, against thee shall fall.	15 Loe, who so gathereth to- gether against thee doth it without me, and who so within me dothe ioyne together against thee shall surely fall.	15 Behold, they shall surely gather but not by me, whosoever shall gather together against thee, shall fall for thy sake.
16 Beholde, I make the anyth that bloweth the coles in the fyr, and he maketh a weapon after his handy worcke, I make also the waster to destroye:	16 Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coles in the fire, and him that bringeth forth an instrument for his worke: and I have created the destroyer to destroy.	16 Beholde, I make the smyth that bloweth the coales in the fyre, and he maketh a weapon after his handie worcke: I make also the waster to destroye.	16 Behold I have created the smith that bloweth the coales in the fire and that bringeth forth an instrument for his worke, and I have created the waster to destroye.
17 But all the weapons that are made agaynst the shal not pros- pere. And as for all tinges that shal resyst the in judgement thou shalt ouercome them & condempne them. This is the heretage of the Lordes seruantes of me sayth the Lord.	17 But all the weapons that are made against thee shall not prosper; and as for all tinges that shall rise against thee in judge- ment thou shalt condempne. This is the heretage of the Lords ser- uants and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord.	17 But all the weapons that are made against thee shall not prosper: and as for all tinges that shall resist thee in judge- mente, thou shalt ouercome them and condempne them: this is the heritage of the Lordes seruantes and their righteousness cometh of me sayth the Lorde.	17 No weapon that is formed against thee, shall prosper, and against tounge that shall rise against thee, thou shalt be stronger than thine enemy. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord.

TYNDALE.
ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Seynyge that we haue diuers gyftes accordyng to the grace that is geuen vnto vs; yf any man haue the gyfte of prophesie lett hym haue it that it be agreyng vnto the fayth.
7 Let hym that hath an office wayte on his office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to his doctrine.
8 Let hym that exhorteth geue attendaunce to his exhortacion. Yf any man geue lett hym do it with synghenes. Let hym that ruleth do it with diligence. Yf any man shewe mercy lett hym do it with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Hate that which is euill and cleaue vnto that which is good.
10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuyng honoure goo one before another.
11 Let not that busynesse which ye haue in honde be tedious to you. Be feruent in the sprete. Apply yourselves vnto the tyme.
12 Reioyce in hope. Be patient in tribulacion, continue in prayer.
13 Distribute vnto the necessities of the sayntes. Be glad to harborow.
14 Blesse them which persecute you, blesse them that curse not.
15 Be mery with them that are mery, wepe with them that wepe.

COVERDALE.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 And (we) haue diuers gyftes accordyng to the grace that is geuen vnto vs. Yf any man haue the gyfte of prophesiege let it be accordyng to the faith.
7 Let him that hath an office wayte vpon the office, let him that teacheth take hede to the doctrine.
8 Let him that exhorteth geue attendaunce to the exhortacion. Yf any man geueth let him geue with synghenes. Let him that ruleth be diligent. Yf any man shewe mercy let him do it with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Hate that which is euell. Cleue vnto that which is good.
10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuyng honoure goo one before another.
11 Be not slouthfull in the busynesse that ye haue in hande. Be feruent in the sprete. Apply yourselves vnto the tyme.
12 Reioyce in hope, be patient in trouble. Continue in prayer.
13 Distribute vnto the necessities of the sayntes. Be glad to harborow.
14 Blesse them that persecute you. Blesse and curse not.
15 Be mery with them that are mery and wepe with them that wepe.

MATTHEW'S BIBLE.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Seynyge that we haue diuers gyftes, accordyng to the grace that is geuen vnto vs. Yf any man haue the gyfte of prophesie, let hym haue it that it be agreyng vnto faythe.
7 Let hym that hath an office, wayte on his office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to his doctrine.
8 Let hym that exhorteth geue attendaunce to his exhortacion. Yf any man geue let him do it with synghenes. Let hym that ruleth do it with diligence. Yf any man shewe mercy, let him do it with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Hate that which is euill and cleaue vnto that which is good.
10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuyng honoure goo one before another.
11 Let not the busynesse which ye haue in hande be tedious vnto you. Be feruent in the spire. Apply yourselves vnto the tyme.
12 Reioyse in hope. Be patient in tribulacion. Continue in prayer.
13 Distribute vnto the necessities of the Sayntes, be diligent to harborow.
14 Blesse them which persecute you: blesse them that curse not.
15 Be mery with them that are mery. Wepe wyth them that wepe.

GREAT BIBLE.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Seynyge that we haue diuers gyftes accordyng to the grace that is geuen vnto vs: yf any man haue the gyfte of prophesie let him haue it that it be agreyng vnto fayth.
7 Let hym that hath an office wayte on his office. Let hym that teacheth take hede to his doctrine.
8 Let hym that exhorteth geue attendaunce to his exhortacion. If any man geue, let hym do it wyth synghenes. Let hym that ruleth do it with diligence. If any man shewe mercy, let him do it with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Hate yt which is euill and cleaue vnto yt which is good.
10 Be kynde one to another with brotherly loue. In geuyng honoure goo one before another.
11 Be not slouthful in the busynesse which ye haue in hande. Be feruent in the sprete. Apply yourselves to the tyme.
12 Reioyce in hope. Be patient in tribulacion. Continue in prayer.
13 Distribute vnto the necessities of the sayntes: be ready to harborow.
14 Blesse them which persecute you: blesse (I say) and curse not.
15 Be mery with them that are mery. Wepe also wyth them that wepe.

GENEVAN BIBLE.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Seeing then that we haue gyftes that are diuers, according to the grace that is geuen vnto vs whether we haue prophesie, let vs prophesie according to the proportion of faith:
7 Or an office let vs waite on the office: or hee that teacheth on teaching.
8 Or he that exhorteth on exhortation: hee that distributeth let him do it with simplicitie: hee that ruleth with diligence: hee that sheweth mercie with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue be without dissimulation. Abhorre that which is euill, and cleaue vnto that which is good.
10 Be affectioned to loue one another with brotherly loue. In giuing honour goo one before another.
11 Not slouthful to doe seruice: feruent in spirit seruing the Lord.
12 Reioycing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing in prayer.
13 Distributing vnto the necessities of the Saintes, giuing your selues to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them which persecute you: blesse I say and curse not.
15 Reioyce with them that reioyce, and weepe with them that weepe.

BISHOPS' BIBLE.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Seeing that we haue diuers gyftes according to the grace that is geuen vnto vs either prophesie, after the measure of fayth,
7 Eyther office, in administration: or he that teacheth, in teaching.
8 Or he that exhorteth, in exhorting: he that geueth in singleness, he that ruleth in diligence: hee that is mercyfull in cheyrfulnes.
9 Loue, without dissimulation, hating euill, cleauing to good.
10 Affectioned one to an other with brotherly loue, in giuing honoure, goyng one before another.
11 Not lyther in businesse, feruent in spirite seruing the Lord.
12 Reioycing in hope, patient in trouble, instant in prayer.
13 Distributing to the necessities of saintes, geuen to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them which persecute you, blesse, and curse not.
15 Reioyce with them that doe reioyce, and wepe with them that weepe.

RHEIMS TESTAMENT.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 And hauing gyftes according to the grace that is geuen vs different, either prophesie according to the rule of faith,
7 Or ministerie in ministering, or he that teacheth in doctrine.
8 He that exhorteth in exhorting, he that geueth in simplicitie, he that ruleth in carefullnes, he that sheweth mercie in cheyrfulnes.
9 Loue without simulation. Hating euill, cleauing to good.
10 Louing the charitie of the brotherhood one toward an other. With honour preuenting one an other.
11 In carefullnes not slouthful. In spirit feruent. Seruing our Lord.
12 Reioycing in hope. Patient in tribulation. Instant in prayer.
13 Communicating to the necessities of the saintes. Pursuing hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them that persecute you: blesse and curse not.
15 To reioyce with them that reioyce, to weepe with them that weepe.

AUTHORISED VERSION.

ROMANS xii. 6-15.
6 Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is geuen to vs, whether prophesie, let vs prophesie according to the proportion of faith.
7 Or ministry, let vs wait, on our ministering: or hee that teacheth on teaching.
8 Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that geueth let him doe it with simplicitie: hee that ruleth, with diligence: hee that sheweth mercy with cheyrfulnes.
9 Let loue bee without dissimulation: abhorre that which is euill, cleaue to that which is good.
10 Bee kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly loue, in honour preferring one another.
11 Not slouthfull in busines; feruent in spirit, seruing the Lord.
12 Reioycing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer.
13 Distributing to the necessities of Saints: geuen to hospitalitie.
14 Blesse them which persecute you, blesse and curse not.
15 Reioyce with them that doe reioyce, and weepe with them that weepe.

glance will show that the five translations divide themselves into two classes—the Bibles of Coverdale, Cranmer, and the Bishops standing on one side, the Genevan and Authorised Version on the other. In the few places in which the Authorised Version differs from the Genevan, the change (which is but rarely suggested by any other version) is usually for the better, the new rendering being more literal or idiomatic, better in style or rhythm.

It must not be supposed, however, that any one example will adequately illustrate the character of our translation of the Old Testament. Taking a chapter from the historical books (1 Kings xix.), we find that, whilst thirty or forty renderings from the Genevan Bible were preferred by the translators, this version was deserted by them twice as frequently; they depart from the Bishops' Bible on an average four times, and from the Genevan three times, in every verse, and many of the renderings do not appear to be suggested by any earlier version. On the other hand, a section to which we have often referred (Numb. xxiv. 15—24) contains very little that is not found either in Tyndale or in Coverdale, or in the Genevan Bible.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark in detail on the New Testament passages, but the reader will find it an interesting and useful occupation to trace for himself the manner in which the structure now so familiar was gradually built up. In earlier chapters we have pointed out passages which have been retained with comparatively little change, in one version after another; this passage rather shows how far alteration may extend, not more than one-third of the words having remained untouched. It will be found that very little in the last translation of these verses is absolutely new. The translators show much tact and skill in selection, combination, and arrangement,

but the number of words first introduced by them does not amount to four in a hundred. It is obvious that the Genevan and Rhemish versions have exercised much greater influence than the Great and Bishops' Bibles. The Rhemish Testament was not even named in the instructions furnished to the translators, but it has left its mark on every page of their work.

An inquiry into the exact relation in which the Authorised Version stands to earlier English translations, to the various foreign versions of Scripture, and to the chief critical authorities of the time, is of course impossible in these pages. For more detailed information the reader is referred to Professor Westcott's most valuable work,¹ so often quoted already. By an analysis of passages of the translation and of the alternative renderings offered in the margin, it is shown that the authorities most frequently followed by our translators were Beza in the New Testament (both for text and for interpretation), and in the Old the Latin versions of Junius and Tremellius, Münster, Leo Juda, and Pagninus. The influence of the Vulgate was exercised mainly through the Rhemish version.

When all critical helps and sources of influence have been taken into account, the student whose analysis has been most complete will find most to admire in the work that the translation or revision of 1607—1611 has given us. The praise he will award to the revisers will not be indiscriminate eulogy. He will discover that very much that they have transmitted to us was inherited by them from others; the execution of different parts of the work will prove to be unequal—the Epistles, for example, standing far below the Pentateuch in accuracy and felicity of rendering; many flaws and inconsistencies will reveal themselves; occasionally it will be found that better renderings have been

¹ *History of the English Bible* (2nd edit.), pp. 267—289.

deliberately laid aside and worse preferred: but, notwithstanding, almost every paragraph will bear testimony to the tact, care, diligence, and faithfulness of the men to whom, in God's providence, we owe the version of the Scriptures which has come down to us consecrated by the associations of 250 years.

If we compare one of our modern Bibles with a copy of the first edition, we find that the differences are by no means few or slight. There is a history of the text which it is very interesting to trace. In Dr. Scrivener's Preface to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, which embodies the results of many years of labour, the reader will find this history carefully and fully narrated. We content ourselves with calling attention to the most important facts. The first issue of the present version was a folio volume (printed in black-letter), bearing date 1611. It has recently been discovered by Mr. Fry and Dr. Scrivener that two editions were issued in that year, and it is not yet decided to the satisfaction of all which edition can claim to be the first. In 1833 the delegates of the Oxford University Press published a reprint of the Bible of 1611, and it is by means of this volume that the peculiarities of the earliest editions can most conveniently be studied. Probably this reprint represents the second, not the first issue of the year. Both issues are incorrectly printed; the earlier, for example, reads in Matt. xxvi. 36, "Then cometh Judas;" whilst in the later, twenty words of Exod. xiv. 10 are given twice over. There are also differences of text which are not misprints. In Matt. xiii. 45, for example, the earlier edition reads "good," the later "goodly" (pearls) in Acts iv. 27 the two editions have "the" and "thy" (Holy Child); and in 1 Peter i. 22 they read "your souls" and "yourselves." Many copies of each issue are still preserved. In 1612 appeared an octavo edition, in Roman type; other editions quickly followed, in 1613, 1617 (black-

letter), and 1616 (Roman). The earliest edition in which the Apocryphal books are omitted is that of 1629 (London). In the same year appeared the first Cambridge edition, a work of considerable importance. Some revision and correction had been attempted in 1616, but the two Cambridge books of 1629 and 1638 were the first in which the text was examined with care and accurately printed. In many instances the changes introduced in these two editions were clear improvements, and as such they have maintained their ground. Thus in 1 John v. 12 the words "of God" were omitted until 1629, and in 1 Tim. i. 4 the word "godly" until 1638; on the other hand, in Matt. xii. 23 the edition of 1638 led all subsequent editions into error by the insertion of "not" in the question, "Is this the son of David?" The amount of correction introduced was of course relatively very small (perhaps thirty changes in all being made in Genesis, for instance, and six in the Epistle to the Romans); but, to say nothing of the correction of misprints, the examples just quoted are sufficient to show the value of the revision.

The only other editions which we can mention particularly are three which have exerted great influence on all modern Bibles. Bishop Lloyd's Bible (London, 1701) is remarkable as being the first that contains the marginal dates, mostly derived from Archbishop Ussher. In the Cambridge Bible of 1762, edited by Dr. Paris, and the Oxford edition of 1769, edited by Dr. Blayney (afterwards Professor of Hebrew), considerable labour was expended in the effort to improve the ordinary editions. These editors sought to apply with greater consistency the principle of denoting additions to the original text by italic type, substituted ordinary forms of words for such as had, in their opinion, become obsolete, and made very large additions to the number of marginal references, which in our present

Bibles are said to be seven times as numerous as in the edition of 1611. The chief increase in the marginal notes also is due to Dr. Paris and Dr. Blayney. These notes are an essential characteristic of the Authorised Version, though by a wise rule restricted within very narrow limits, and therefore rendered wholly unlike the commentary with which Matthew's, the Genevan, and the Bishops' Bibles had been furnished. It has been computed that 8,418 marginal notes were inserted by the original translators, that 35 in all were added between 1611 and 1762, 383 more by Dr. Paris, 76 only by Dr. Blayney. Unhappily, each of these editions was disfigured by errors, which maintained their place in the text until a very recent period.

Some of the differences in text between various editions of the Authorised Version have excited so much attention as to call for special notice. In Acts vi. 3, "ye may appoint" (for "we") found its way into many editions between 1638 and 1682; in 1 Tim. iv. 16, "thy doctrine" took the place of "the doctrine" between 1629 and 1769; in 2 Cor. xii. 2, "about" was substituted for "above" by Dr. Blayney: "unto me" for "under me" in Ps. xviii. 47, and "abide" for "abide still" in Rom. xi. 23, are mistakes from the same source. Some editions have owed their celebrity to faults more or less serious, as the "Vinegar Bible" (Oxford, 1717), so called from a misprint of *vinegar* for *vineyard* in the heading of the page containing Luke xx. The "Pearl Bible" of 1653, and other editions of about the same date, some imported from abroad, some from the press of the privileged printers, are notorious for scandalous blunders, such as *righteousness* for *unrighteousness* (Rom. vi. 13). In 1632 Laud inflicted a fine of £300 on the king's printers for an edition of the Bible in which "not" was omitted in the Seventh Commandment. Negligence gross as this belonged to an unsettled age, but as late as 1830 Bibles

were often printed with serious want of accuracy. The last forty years have witnessed a considerable improvement, and recent editions have left little to be desired. The Cambridge Paragraph Bible, edited by Dr. Scrivener, is the classic edition of the Authorised Version, and is a monument of minute accuracy and unsparing labour.

Many points of interest the limits of our space compel us to pass over entirely. Such are the use of italics in our Bibles, the punctuation, the division of the text into paragraphs; also the important questions relating to peculiar words and forms of words, changes in spelling, &c.¹ The headings of chapters must not be dismissed without a word, especially as they proceed from the hands of the original translators. There are, Dr. Scrivener informs us,² only twelve variations between our present headings and those of 1611, "the only one of importance being that prefixed to Psalm cxlix.," where "that power which he hath given to the Church to rule the consciences of men" is discreetly curtailed in the edition of 1762 by the omission of the last six words, that of 1769 further amending by substituting "his saints" for "the church," which latter some modern Bibles still retain.

¹ See *The Bible Word-book*, by Eastwood and Wright; *Bible-English*, by the Rev. T. L. O. Davies; and the papers on Bible-Words in the *Bible Educator*.

² Preface to *Paragraph Bible*, p. lxx.

CHAPTER XV.

LATER HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE revision of 1611 was not at once received with general favour. Romanists complained (as Romanists still complain) of unfairness in the translators' treatment of controverted passages; and Puritans clung tenaciously to the translation and commentary furnished in the Genevan Bible. On the whole, however, the opposition seems to have been but faint; and though for half a century the rival versions circulated side by side, the latter steadily gained ground. It could not altogether escape the perils of those troublous times. In 1652 the Long Parliament made an order that a Bill should be brought in for a new translation of the Bible, and four years later the House directed "that it be referred to a committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk,¹ Dr. Cudworth, and such as they should think fit, and to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein."² The care of this business was especially commended to Whitelocke, and at his house in Chelsea the committee often met, "and had the most learned men in the Oriental tongues to consult with on this great business; and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English, which yet was agreed

¹ Probably Samuel Clark and Matthew Poole. See Westcott, *History*, p. 124.

² Lewis, *History of Translations*, p. 354.

to be the best of any translation in the world." "I took pains in it," adds Whitelocke, "but it became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution."

About the same time appeared the only work of that age in which any detailed criticism of the Authorised Version was attempted.¹ The author, Dr. Gell, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, complains that the last translation is wrested and partial, speaking the language of one sect or party (the Calvinistic), and that the better renderings have usually been relegated to the margin. Many of his criticisms are of little worth, but in some instances (as in Gal. v. 17) he exposes serious mistakes.

Shortly after the Restoration, the Book of Common Prayer once more underwent revision, and in 1662 was issued in its present form. The changes which were made at once declared and established the supremacy of the last translation of the Scriptures. As we have already seen, the Psalter of the Great Bible was left undisturbed, but in the Epistles and Gospels, and in all the longer portions of Scripture which are read in the occasional services (as 1 Cor. xv. 20—58; Acts vi. 2—7; xx. 17—35, &c.), the version of 1611 was uniformly adopted. The Psalms which are interspersed amongst the various services naturally agree in almost every point with the Prayer-book Psalter. Perhaps the only variations which exist are the following: xcvi. 9 (*is come*), lxvii. 5 (*yea*), xli. 1 (six words in the former part of the verse), cxxviii. 2 (*labour*), lxxi. 5 (*alway be*), xxxix. 11 (*by means*), xc. 12 (*O teach*), cxvi. 4 (*found, called*), li. 9 (*away*). The translations of the *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, the Offertory sentences, and the "Comfortable Words" in the Communion Service, stand by themselves, agreeing in many renderings with some of

¹ *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English Translation of the Bible*, by Robert Gell (London, 1659).

the older versions (especially the Great Bible), but in many others with none. The *Benedicite*, for example, agrees almost verbally with the Great Bible in the first part of each verse; but where the Great Bible has *speake good of* and *set him up*, we find *bless ye* and *magnify him* in the Prayer Book. The verses from Job xiv. in the Burial Service and from Deut. xxvii. in the Communion Service come very near the Great Bible. The translation of Rev. xiv. 13 is peculiar to the Prayer Book, and the same may be said of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. Other passages agree with the Authorised Version, with a few slight variations, such as the insertion of *but* in 1 John i. 9, *to be* in Luke ii. 32, and the reading *acceptable unto* in 1 Tim. ii. 3. Now and then the language of a prayer or exhortation recalls an old or peculiar rendering of a passage of Scripture, as "not *considering* the Lord's body" (1 Cor. xi. 29), "*pastors and doctors*" (Eph. iv. 11), and the quotation from Matt. xxv. 34 in the Burial Service. These details will show that the Book of Common Prayer, whilst it enshrines fragments of our various English versions, has largely contributed to establish and render familiar the translation of 1611.

An instructive volume might be written on the various schemes of revision which have been proposed since the beginning of the last century. It would answer no good end, however, to give a mere list of names and works; and to enter into any useful detail would require as many pages as we can command lines. In the third volume of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (pp. 1,678—1,682) the reader will find a singularly interesting account of the controversy, written by the Rev. Professor Plumptre. The same article also contains a brief notice of the attempts which Lowth, Geddes, Blayney, Newcome, and other scholars have made to improve the translations of particular books of Scripture.

In 1856 the subject of revision was brought by Professor Selwyn before the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, but his proposals met with little favour. The desirableness of the appointment of a Royal Commission was urged upon the House of Commons, but without effect. Meanwhile the general interest in Biblical studies was continually advancing. The merits of our translation, on the one hand, and on the other the amount of improvement absolutely required, became more fully understood from year to year. Some specimens of a revised version by five clergymen (the present Bishops of Gloucester and Salisbury, the late Dean Alford, the Rev. W. G. Humphry, and Dr. Barrow), published about this time, showed that reverent regard for the Authorised Version might coexist with an earnest desire for its improvement, and helped to prepare the way for the remarkable change in public opinion which has recently taken place.

In February, 1870, both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury unanimously passed a resolution to the following effect:—"That a Committee of both Houses be appointed, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province, to report upon the desirableness of a revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Hebrew or Greek text originally adopted by the translators, or in the translation made from the same, shall, on due investigation, be found to exist." The mover and seconder of the resolution in the Upper House (the late Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol) had limited their proposal to the New Testament, but on the motion of the Bishop of Llandaff it was at once agreed to extend the inquiry so as to include the whole Bible. Eight members of the Upper and

sixteen of the Lower House were appointed the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury. The Northern Province declined to co-operate with the Southern in this inquiry, on the ground that the time was not favourable for revision, and that the risk was greater than the probable gain. Early in May the Committee presented a report recommending that a revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures should be undertaken, on the principle of departing as little as possible from the general style and language of the existing version, and "that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they belong." A Committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of eight members of each house—viz., Dr. S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester; Dr. C. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's; Dr. A. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. C. J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol; Dr. G. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. E. H. Browne, Bishop of Ely (now Bishop of Winchester); Dr. C. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. A. C. Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. E. H. Bickersteth, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, now Dean of Lichfield; Dr. H. Alford, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster; Dr. H. J. Rose, Archdeacon of Bedford; Dr. W. Selwyn, Canon of Ely and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Dr. J. W. Blakesley, Canon of Canterbury (now Dean of Lincoln); Dr. J. Jebb, Canon of Hereford; and Dr. W. Kay, late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. This Committee held its first meeting on the 25th of May. It was then resolved that two companies should be formed for the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament and the New Testament respectively; that the company for the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament

should consist of the Bishops of St. David's, Llandaff, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, Archdeacon Rose, Professor Selwyn, Canon Jebb, and Dr. Kay, together with eighteen scholars and divines, who should be invited to join in the work; and that the company for the revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament should consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury, the Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster, and Canon Blakesley, together with nineteen invited scholars and divines.

An invitation to join the Old Testament Company was sent to Dr. W. L. Alexander, Professor of Theology, Congregational Church Hall, Edinburgh; Mr. T. Chenery, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Oxford; the Rev. F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter; Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Edinburgh; Dr. B. Davies, Professor of Hebrew in the Baptist College, Regent's Park; Dr. P. Fairbairn, Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow; Dr. F. Field (editor of the Septuagint, Origen's *Hexapla*, &c.); Dr. Ginsburg (editor of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, &c.); Dr. F. W. Gotch, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol; Rev. B. Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone; Rev. S. Leathes, Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London; Rev. J. McGill, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrew's; Dr. R. Payne Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford (now Dean of Canterbury); Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, Canon of Llandaff, and now Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; Dr. E. H. Plumptre, Professor of the Exegesis of the New Testament, King's College, London; Dr. E. B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; Dr. W. Wright, now Professor of Arabic, Cambridge; Mr. W. A. Wright, Librarian (now Bursar) of Trinity College, Cambridge.

An invitation to join the New Testament Company was

sent to Dr. R. C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. J. Angus, President of the Baptist College, Regent's Park; Dr. J. Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis to the United Presbyterian Church, Scotland; Dr. F. J. A. Hort, now Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Rev. W. G. Humphry, Prebendary of St. Paul's; Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Canon of Ely, and Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge; Dr. W. Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Lecturer in Divinity; Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, now Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Canon of St. Paul's; Dr. W. Milligan, Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen; Dr. W. F. Moulton, Professor of Classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond; Dr. J. H. Newman, formerly Rector of the Roman Catholic University, Dublin; Dr. S. Newth, Professor of Classics (now Principal), New College, London; Dr. A. Roberts, now Professor of Humanity, St. Andrews; Dr. G. Vance Smith (joint author of a Revised Translation of the Scriptures); Dr. R. Scott, then Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and Professor of Exegesis, now Dean of Rochester; Dr. F. H. Scrivener (editor of the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, *Codex Beza*, &c.); Dr. S. P. Tregelles (editor of the Greek Testament); Dr. C. J. Vaughan, Master of the Temple; and Dr. B. F. Westcott, Canon of Peterborough, now Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

At the same meeting of the Committee it was further resolved:—

I. That the general principles to be followed by both companies be as follows:—

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorised Version consistently with faithfulness.

2. To limit, as far as possible, the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorised and earlier English Versions.

3. Each company to go twice over the portion to be

revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided.

4. That the text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorised Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.

5. To make or retain no change in the text on the second final revision by each company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by one-third of those present at the meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice of the next meeting.

7. To revise the headings of chapters, pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation.

8. To refer, on the part of each company, when considered desirable, to divines, scholars, and literary men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.

II. That the work of each company be communicated to the other as it is completed, in order that there may be as little deviation from uniformity in language as possible.

III. That the special or bye-rules for each company be as follows:—

1. To make all corrections in writing previous to the meeting.

2. To place all the corrections due to textual considerations on the left-hand margin, and all other corrections on the right-hand margin.

3. To transmit to the chairman, in case of being unable to attend, the corrections proposed in the portion agreed upon for consideration.

Of the scholars named above, Canon Cook, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Newman declined to take part in the work. Dr. Wright, who at the time was compelled to decline the invitation, has now joined the Old Testament Company. The first meeting of the New Testament Company took place on June 22, 1870; before entering on the work of revision many members of the Company joined in the Holy Communion, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey. The Old Testament Company met for the first time on the 30th of June.

Several changes have taken place in the composition of the companies. The Old Testament Company has lost through death Bishop Thirlwall, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Professor McGill, Professor Fairbairn, and Professor Davies (also Dr. Weir, mentioned below); and by resignation the Bishop of Lincoln, Professor Plumptre, and Canon Jebb. The following new members have been added:—Mr. R. N. Bensly, Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer, Caius College, Cambridge; Rev. J. Birrell, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews; Dr. F. Chance (Editor of a *Commentary on Job*); Rev. T. K. Cheyne, Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer, Balliol College, Oxford; Mr. S. R. Driver, Tutor of New College, Oxford; Dr. G. Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow; Rev. C. J. Elliott, late Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; Rev. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Wesleyan College, Didsbury; Rev. J. R. Lumby, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; Rev. A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford; Rev. W. R. Smith, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Aberdeen; Dr. D. H. Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow.

Four members of the New Testament Company have been removed by death—Dean Alford, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Eadie, and Dr. Tregelles (who was prevented by ill health from taking any part in the work). Three mem-

bers were added shortly after the commencement of the work—Dr. David Brown, Professor of Divinity and Principal, Free Church College, Aberdeen; Dr. C. Merivale, Dean of Ely; and Dr. C. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews. Dr. Merivale resigned his place as a reviser in 1871. In 1873, the Rev. Edwin Palmer, Professor of Latin, Oxford, became a member of the company, which now numbers twenty-four members. The Bishop of Winchester is the Chairman of the Old Testament Company, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol of the New. The former usually meets for a session of ten days five times in the year; the latter for a session of four days every month, except August and September.

Soon after the commencement of the work in England, the Committee of Convocation sought the co-operation of American scholars. The negotiations were conducted mainly through an eminent American Professor, Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York. Through his exertions two companies of revisers, "men of ability, experience, and reputation in Biblical learning and criticism," and fairly representing "the leading churches and theological institutions" of the United States, were formed before the close of 1871. The following list of names is taken from an interesting account of the revision written by Dr. Schaff:—

THE OLD TESTAMENT COMPANY.

- Dr. T. J. Conant (Baptist), Brooklyn, New York.
- Dr. E. Day (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn.
- Dr. J. De Witt (Reformed), New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- Dr. W. H. Green (Presbyterian), Princeton, New Jersey.
- Dr. G. E. Hare (Episcopalian), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Dr. C. P. Krauth (Lutheran), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Dr. J. Packard (Episcopalian), Fairfax, Virginia.
- Dr. C. E. Stowe (Congregationalist), Cambridge, Mass.
- Dr. J. Strong (Methodist), Madison, New Jersey.
- Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck¹ (Missionary), Beyrout, Syria.
- Dr. T. Lewis (Reformed), Schenectady, New York.

¹ Corresponding member.

NEW TESTAMENT COMPANY.

Bishop Lee (Episcopalian), Wilmington, Delaware.
 Dr. E. Abbott (Unitarian), Cambridge, Mass.
 Dr. G. R. Crooks (Methodist), New York.
 Dr. H. B. Hackett (Baptist), Rochester, New York.
 Dr. J. Hadley (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn.
 Dr. C. Hodge (Presbyterian), Princeton, New Jersey.
 Dr. A. C. Kendrick (Baptist), Rochester, New York.
 Dr. M. B. Riddle (Reformed), Hartford, Conn.
 Dr. C. Short (Episcopalian), New York.
 Dr. H. B. Smith (Presbyterian), New York.
 Dr. J. H. Thayer (Congregationalist), Andover, Mass.
 Dr. W. F. Warren (Methodist), Boston, Mass.
 Dr. E. A. Washburn (Episcopalian), New York.
 Dr. T. D. Woolsey (Congregationalist), New Haven, Conn.
 Dr. P. Schaff (Presbyterian), New York.

To the Old Testament Company have since been added Dr. C. A. Aiken, of Princeton, New Jersey, Dr. C. M. Mead, Andover, Mass.; Dr. H. Osgood, Flushing, Long Island. To the New Testament Company (which has lost from its ranks Dr. Crooks, Dr. Hadley, Dr. Smith, and Dr. Warren) have been added four members, Dr. J. K. Burr, Madison, New Jersey; Professor T. Chase, Haverford College, Pennsylvania; Dr. H. Crosby, New York; and Dr. T. Dwight, New Haven, Connecticut. Dr. Schaff is the president of the committee, Dr. Green and Dr. Woolsey the chairmen of the two companies. On the 7th December, 1871, a number of American revisers met in New York for the purpose of adopting a "constitution," which provided that "The American committee shall co-operate with the British companies on the basis of the principles and rules of revision adopted by the British committee. The British companies will submit to the American companies, from time to time, such portions of their work as have passed the first revision, and the American companies will transmit their criticisms and suggestions to the British companies

before the second revision." The American companies entered on their work in October, 1872.

During the last seven years and a half the English revision companies have regularly met, but as yet no portion of their work has been given to the world. It would be premature to speculate on the character of the revised version, or on the reception which awaits it. On one point, however, no apprehension will be entertained by any who have studied the constitution of the companies or the rules which guide their action. There will be no attempt to introduce a new translation under the mask of revision. The bond that has united the several versions which have successively been given to the English people will not now be broken. Amongst those who meet in the Jerusalem Chamber are found some of the most careful students of our early English Bibles; and the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale and their noble followers are never forgotten in the discussions on the sacred text. In the last century the chief aim of revisers may have been to depart as widely as possible from the severe style and simple language of the Authorised Version. The highest praise sought by any now engaged in revision is that they may be held to have removed the blemishes without impairing the excellence of our revered English Bible.

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